THE ARABS AND THE SUDAN

FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

YŪSUF FAḌL ḤASAN
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University of Khartoum

for the University Press
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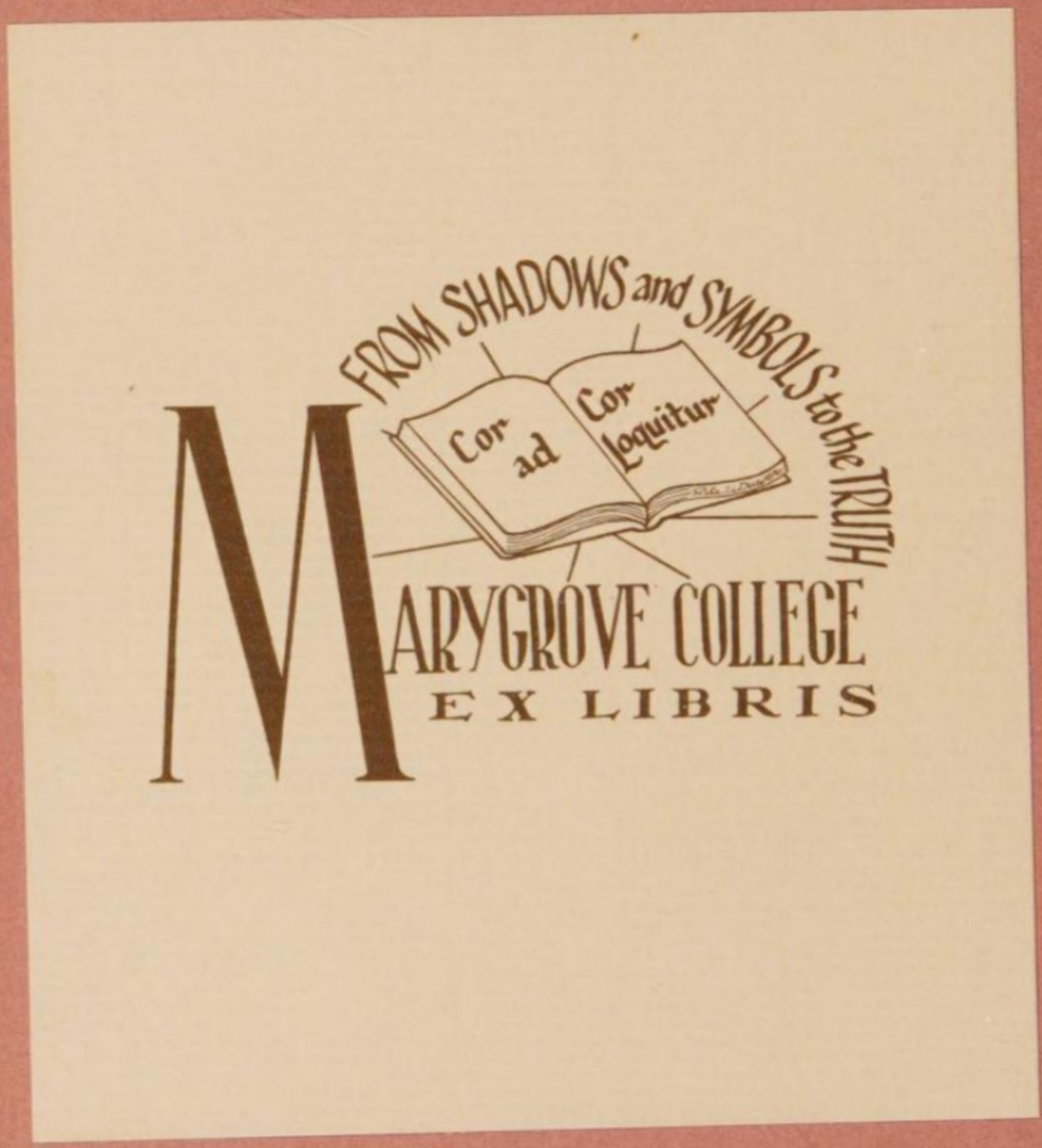

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PREFACE

THIS book aims to cover two major aspects of the history of the Sudan from the seventh to the early sixteenth century. The first is the relations between the Muslims and the Christian Kingdoms of Nubia and 'Alwa, and also the Beja country. The second is the penetration of large numbers of Arabs into the Sudan, which led to the ultimate Arabization and Islamization of the country.

The first chapter is an introductory survey of the country and its people. The second deals with the early clashes of the Arabs with the Nubians on the one hand and the Beja on the other. These clashes resulted in the conclusion of 'treaties' which formed the basis of peaceful contacts for nearly six centuries. Arab economic penetration, which is surveyed in chapter 3, embraced trading, mining, and the conveyance of pilgrims and goods between Upper Egypt and the Red Sea port of '*Aydhāb*. Economic activities were also associated with the ports of Bāḍi' and Sawākin. The majority of the Arabs, however, were interested in the rich pastures that lay beyond the Nubian desert. Chapter 4 investigates the effects of Arab discontent in Egypt. This affected the safety of trade links between the Nile and the Red Sea. The Mamluk authorities adopted a repressive policy which compelled many Arabs to move outside the regions under their control. Mamluk intervention in Nubian affairs to defend the southern border of Egypt opened the gates of Nubia to these Arab immigrants. Intermarriages with the Nubians and the matrilineal system of succession in Nubia allowed Arabs to become the rulers of that country. The Arab penetration in 'Alwa is rather more obscure. Chapters 5 and 6 analyse the progress of Arabization and Islamization in the light of native traditions. The Appendix attempts to evaluate the

Medieval Arabic texts and Sudanese traditions upon which this study is based.

The transliteration of Arabic words is essentially that of the second edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (London, 1960, continuing) with three modifications: the use of *q* for *ḳ* and *j* for *dj* and also the replacement of the ligature by an apostrophe when the consonants *dh*, *gh*, *kh*, *sh*, and *th* are to be sounded separately; when there is no apostrophe they are sounded together. In the case of geographical names the conventional spelling for Khartoum and Gezira has been used. The colloquial vowels have also been retained in the transliteration of dialect words, e.g. *Khōr*. For abbreviations of titles of periodicals and short references consult the Bibliography.

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Iḥsān Rashīd ʿAbbās for his encouragement to undertake this line of research, and to Professor Bernard Lewis and Professor P. M. Holt for their interest, encouragement, and guidance during the preparation of my Ph.D. thesis, of which this book is a revised version. I am indebted for helpful suggestions to Professor C. F. Beckingham, Professor S. D. Goitein, Professor J. M. Hussey, and my colleague Professor Sayyid Aḥmad. I am, however, solely responsible for the conclusions and contents of this book. I am obliged to the following for placing facilities at my disposal for collecting textual material: Sayyid Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Aḥmad, the Sudan Government Archivist; Sayyid Thābit Ḥasan Thābit, the Director of the Antiquities service; the Library of the University of Khartoum; the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies; the British Museum; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; the Bibliothèque Nationale; the Bodleian Library; the Ashmolean Museum; the Austrian Nationalbibliothek; and the Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala. I am grateful to the many Sudanese who have made available to me their tribal traditions and in particular to Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ

Ḍirār and Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sharīf and Sayyid al-Shātīr Buṣaylī 'Abd al-Jalīl of the Institute of African Studies, Cairo. I should like also to express my thanks to P. J. Gemmell Esq., and Dr N. Panayotakis for their help in translating Italian sources, to Sayyid Sayyid Bushra and Sayyid 'Uthmān Sāttī for assisting me with the map.

Finally I wish to thank the Research Committee of the University of Khartoum, which has most generously agreed to subsidize the publication of this work.

Burrī, Khartoum,
July, 1966.

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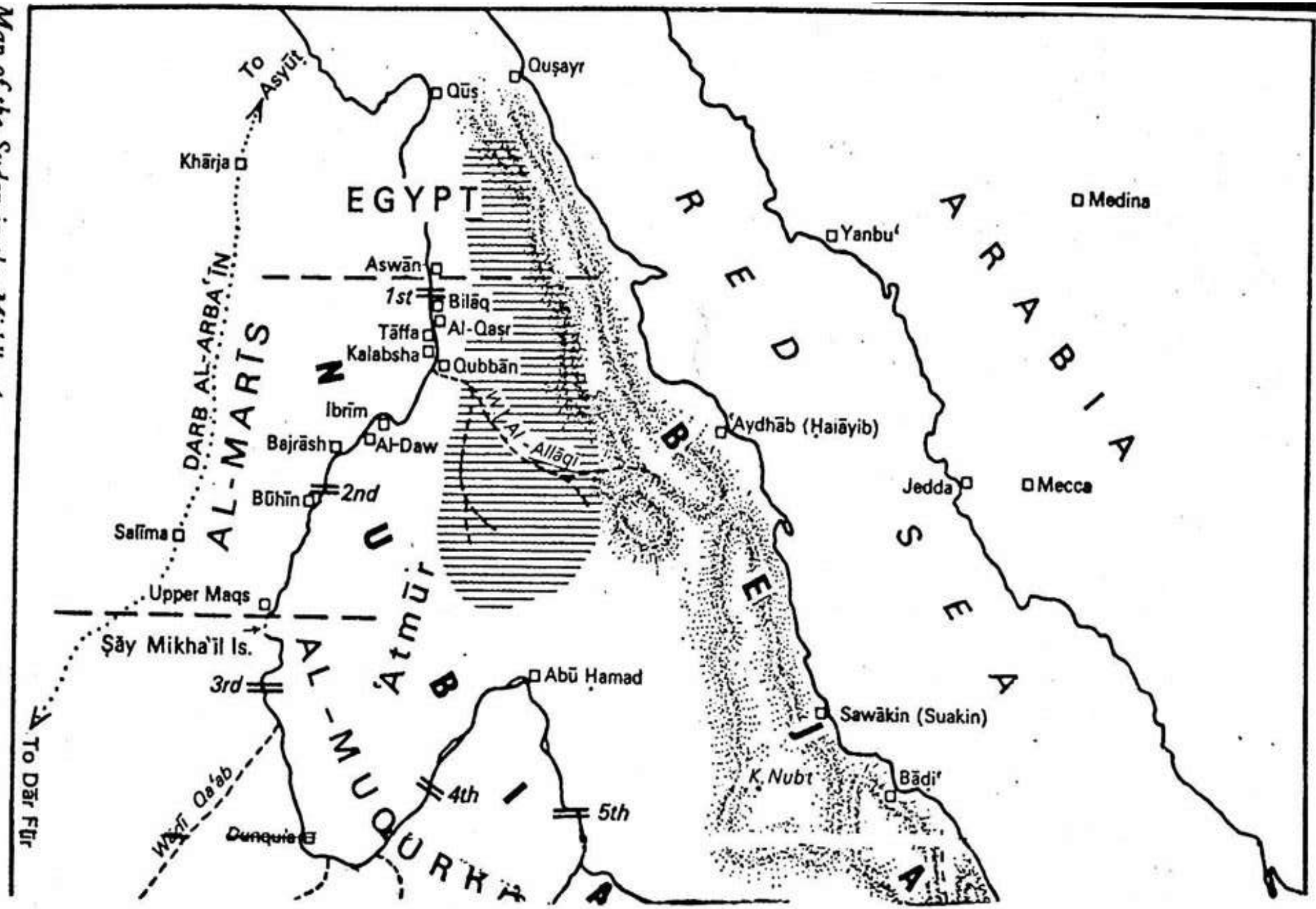
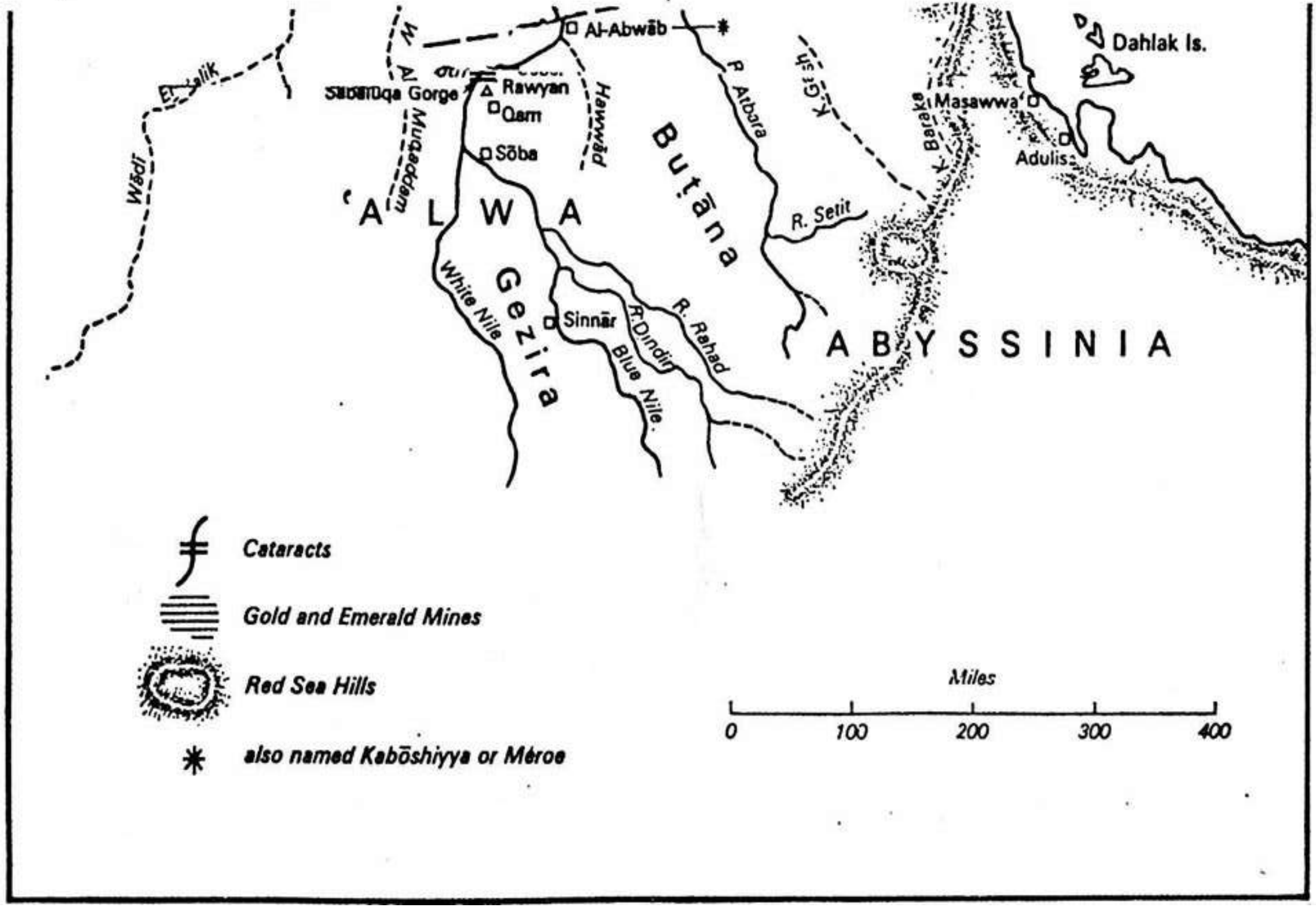
Map of the Sudan in the Middle Ages





Al-Abwāb
Dahlak Is.
Rawyan
Qam
Sōba
Sabālūqa Gorge
Al Muqaddam
Hawwād
Wādī
Butāna
R. Atbara
R. Setit
Masawwa'
Adulis
K. Baraka
'ALWA
Gezira
White Nile
Sinnār
R. Dindir
R. Rahad
Blue Nile
ABYSSINIA
Cataracts
Gold and Emerald Mines
Red Sea Hills
also named Kabōshiyya or Méroe
Miles
0
100
200
300
400

(I)

EXTERNAL CONTACTS BEFORE THE ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT

1. *The country and the people at the time of Arab penetration*

Bilād al-Sūdān, or the Land of the Blacks, is the name applied by medieval Arabic writers to the territories immediately south of the Sahara, stretching from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. Under this generic term—*Sūdān* or Blacks—Arabic writers lumped together all the dark-skinned peoples of the area including the Abyssinians, Beja,[1] Nubians, Zaghāwa, Takrūr, and others. This study will, however, be restricted to the eastern *Bilād al-Sūdān* with special reference to the Beja country, al-Muqurra and 'Alwa (that is, more or less the modern Republic of the Sudan with the exception of the three Southern Provinces and Dār Fūr[2]).

A brief description of the natural features[3] of the country will be of value in understanding the movements and the settlements of the Arabs during the period of their incursions. Most probably these features have changed hardly at all during the last millennium.[4] North of Atbara, excluding the Red Sea Hills, there is arid desert with an annual rainfall of less than one inch. This scanty rainfall supports poor vegetation which, is concentrated mainly in empty watercourses or *Khōrs*. One therefore cannot fail to realize the importance of the river Nile in this massive desert. Its narrow valley is able to support

only a small sedentary population, and as a result of this limitation the valley-dwellers were unable to defend themselves effectively against the repeated attacks of nomadic tribes from eastern and western deserts. However, at the Dunqula reach the river broadens and it gave a living to a larger population "who more easily resisted invasion, and formed, therefore, for many centuries, the real heart of the Sudan".[5]

It is usually asserted that the river Nile was a highway of migration, but the six cataracts on its course, the first of which forms a geographical and historical frontier, impede free traffic and mass movement. Admittedly, conquerors from the north followed the Nile Valley, and so did some traders and travellers, but fear of customs exactions and brigandage occasionally drove the trade caravans and other travellers to the safety of desert routes.[6] Shortage of water on these routes was at no time an insurmountable difficulty.

South of Atbara the rainfall increases progressively until in the extreme south of the modern Republic of the Sudan, an average annual rainfall of eighty inches is recorded. This increasing rainfall is broadly correlated with denser vegetation. The semi-desert region which includes the Red Sea Hills is poor in grazing and in consequence sparsely inhabited by nomads and semi-nomads. Near the river, the dividing line between the sedentary and semi-sedentary tribes is continuously shifting, according to the good seasons of cultivation and the droughts. Between the Red Sea and the Nile and the Atbara river lies the Beja country which stretches to the Abyssinian highlands in the south and to approximately the desert of Aswān in the north. The southern region is richer in vegetation than the arid north and its inhospitable Red Sea Hills.

The Gezira, the land between the Blue and White Niles, forms the heart of the region of the "low" rainfall-

woodland savanna; here rain cultivation becomes possible and the flat plains afford rich grazing. It is interesting to note that an early Arab traveller thought the fertility and the abundant produce of the Gezira was due to the work of spirits or *jinnīs*.[7] In the southern Gezira are the regions of acacia forests with high rainfall and swamps.[8]

The Arab conquest of Egypt in the seventh century A.D. opened a lengthy chapter of relations between the Arabs and the inhabitants of the Sudan. A brief survey of ethnic, cultural, and political affairs at that time will aid understanding of these contacts.[9]

Immediately prior to the Arab invasion of Egypt in 641, the northern region of the Sudan was occupied by a Hamitic-speaking people, basically akin to the predynastic Egyptians. The southern region was inhabited by dark-skinned peoples whose repeated incursions into the northern territories had undoubtedly affected the ethnic character of the tribes there.[10] The Hamitic-speaking Beja tribes, though perhaps not influenced to the same degree by the influx of dark-skinned tribes, were nevertheless affected by slight Arab influences, as we shall see subsequently.

The ancient history of the northern Sudan evidences increasing Egyptian influence and penetration, which extended as far as the fourth Cataract. The Pharaohs raided their southern neighbours in order to protect themselves from attacks, to secure control of the rich gold mines, to capture slaves, and to establish trade. As a result of this, together with the influence of the immigrants, the country was thoroughly Egyptianized.

Between 725 B.C. and A.D. 350 the Nile Valley in the northern Sudan was dominated by an independent, highly Egyptianized dynasty whose origin is by no means clear. The kings of Napata or Kush and later Meroe expanded their kingdoms as far as Sōba and may well have reached Sinnār. The settlement of one branch of the dynasty of

Meroe, near Kabōshiyya, met their need to rule their new domains effectively. The choice of Meroe was excellent. It soon developed into an important trading centre at the junction of routes to the north and the west with easy access to the Red Sea ports, and for resources it could draw on a vast and rich hinterland. By the middle of the third century B.C. the centre of influence had shifted to Meroe, which became the administrative capital of the kingdom, while Napata remained the religious centre.[11] The change of capital shows that the Meroitic kingdom was progressively ceding to negroid influences. It is evident that the kingdom enjoyed a period of prosperity and greatness from the monuments at Meroe, al-Naq'a, and al-Maṣawwarāt.

By the beginning of the Christian era, signs of weakness were already apparent. The decline of the trade-route along the Nile Valley brought economic depression. The northern border was far from quiet. Clashes with the Romans in Egypt brought the frontier to Hierosykaminos or modern Maḥrraqa. About A.D. 273 the marauding Beja struck a wedge between Meroe and Egypt and occupied the Kalabsha region. Far more important, however, was a movement of negroid tribes which pushed up from Kordofan and the Gezira into the island of Meroe, at the beginning of the fourth century. The end of Meroe came in A.D. 350 when King 'Ezānā of Axum dealt the final blow.[12]

In the wake of the Kingdom of Meroe there followed a period of decline and disintegration of which very little is known. Before long three independent kingdoms emerged: Nobatia, Makuria, and Alodia. Evidence as to the condition of these kingdoms is patchy and scattered; the data which follow represent a compilation from sources of very different natures and dates.

A little before the middle of the sixth century A.D. a certain Silko who styled himself King of the Nobades and

all Ethiopians,[13] drove out the Blemmyes or Beja, and consolidated his influence over the Nobatae lying between the First Cataract and the Ṣāy region; this most northern part is equated in Arab accounts with al-Marīs.[14] The capital of this kingdom was Bajrāsh[15] or modern Faras.

To the south lay the Kingdom of Makuria, al-Muqurra in Arabic.[16] The origin of this kingdom is obscure. When the Arabs attacked Dunqula in 651 it was the capital of the two northern kingdoms, comprising all the Nubians who lived between Aswān and the northern border of 'Alwa. The precise date of this unification is not known, but Kirwan has asserted that it took place between A.D. 580 and 652.[17] The change may have taken place as a result of political developments in Egypt. Apparently about 616[18] the Nubians felt the pressure of the Persian onslaught and soon after 641 the Arabs, too, made their weight felt in Upper Egypt and in al-Marīs. Subsequently these frontier clashes developed into raids. In its exposed position Bajrāsh felt vulnerable to the new danger and, united with its southern neighbour Dunqula, was undoubtedly well defended by sheer distance, more cataracts and greater manpower. In describing the inhabitants of al-Marīs and al-Muqurra in the fourth/tenth century, Ibn Sulaym relates that they were separate people speaking different languages.[19] This distinction is still detectable.

The third kingdom was Alodia, in Arabic 'Alwa, with its capital at Sōba on the Blue Nile south of Khartoum; originally it may have been a Meroitic settlement.[20] Archaeological evidence suggests that 'Alwa may have extended as far south as Sinnār region. 'Alwa was described by Ibn Sulaym as a vast, rich kingdom with many prosperous villages and fine buildings. The king had a larger army and more horses than those of the King of al-Muqurra; indeed, the inhabitants were generally better

off than the people of al-Muqurra but they were less civilized.[21] Al-Mus'ūdī wrote in 332/943 that 'Alwa was a dependency of al-Muqurra.[22] This statement is contradicted by Ibn Ḥawqal (*c.* 365/975), who said that the King of al-Muqurra was a subordinate of the King of 'Alwa, while Ibn Sulaym describes him (in about 365/975) as being independent.[23] Considering the richness and strength of 'Alwa, al-Masūdī's remarks seem to be unlikely, but he may be referring to a temporary situation which followed one of the wars that al-Muqurra waged on its neighbours.[24]

The frontier between al-Muqurra and 'Alwa has not been located positively. However, an often quoted passage of Ibn Sulaym has been taken to describe the northern limit of 'Alwa. He writes[25] that at the beginning of the kingdom of 'Alwa are villages on the eastern bank of the Nile called al-Abwāb, or the gates, ruled by a governor called al-Waḥwāḥ.[26] The location of al-Abwāb is still a matter of controversy. Archaeological evidence puts the boundary near Abū Ḥamad, and it is noticeable that south of Abū Ḥamad the incidence of al-Muqurra type of pottery diminishes while to the north that of 'Alwa is less prevalent.[27] Monneret de Villard thought that it was at the confluence of the Atbara[28] and the Nile while others, perhaps correctly, put it in the vicinity of Kabōshiyya[29]—old Meroe. It may be argued that the Arabic *bāb/Abwāb* is common enough as a geographical term signifying a narrow passage (pass, strait, or gorge) and its most obvious application in this region would be the Sabalōqa Gorge. Yet, in spite of this, al-Abwāb is still vigorously associated by local inhabitants with Kabōshiyya, and *dār al-Abwāb* means the land of the Ja'aliyyīn people. When a Mamluk expedition returned from the region of Kasala in 717/1317, they marched down the river Atbara until they were opposite al-Abwāb, from whose chief they demanded presents. The chief obeyed

the order and the army moved down the Nile to Dunqula.[30] This would indicate that al-Abwāb was not far south from the confluence of the Atbara and the Nile and would thus substantiate Ibn Sulaym's description and local usage.

Arabic accounts of the kingdom of 'Alwa, particularly south of Sōba, show it as a land of blacks. Ibn Ḥawqal has much to say about its inhabitants, but he is so vague that it would be difficult to identify or locate them exactly.[31] He states that the Gezira was occupied by the *Nūba* and a numerous people, the Kursī, who dressed themselves in skins. A similar name, Karsā, appears in Ibn Sulaym's description of the same area.[32] South of the Kursī and beyond the country of 'Alwa lived a naked "nation" of whom nothing was known.[33] They might be the Takunna of Ibn al-Faqīh or the Bakunna of al-Mas'ūdī.[34] Al-Dimashqī enumerates no less than five *Nūba* tribes, two of whom, the Anāj and Kanka, lived in the Gezira.[35]

The three kingdoms are loosely called *Bilād al-Nūba* in Arabic sources. The application of this word *al-Nūba* is far from being satisfactorily solved. Indeed despite the efforts of archaeologists, anthropologists, linguists, and historians it is still a source of mystery.[36] However, it is sufficient to say that it has a limited and a general meaning. Writing about 284/897 al-Ya'qūbī categorically divided *al-Nūba* into two kingdoms: al-Muqurra and 'Alwa.[37] This division was also maintained by al-Mas'ūdī who wrote six decades later.[38] In this sense *al-Nūba* is the name of a people: the inhabitants of *Bilād al-Nūba*. However, according to Ibn Sulaym "*al-Nūba* are the people of al-Marīs who live in the neighbourhood of Islam and whose land begins five miles south of Aswān".[39] The restriction of this term to the inhabitants of al-Marīs is perhaps based on linguistic differences between the inhabitants of al-Muqurra and al-Marīs that Ibn Sulaym noticed.[40]

But much earlier in the "treaty" of 31/652 the term *al-Nūba* covered both the inhabitants of al-Muqurra and al-Marīs.

As time went on the term *al-Nūba* became almost synonymous with "black slaves", because, of the vast number of slaves bought from *Bilād al-Sūdān*, which includes *Bilād al-Nūba*, most of them probably went through the latter on their way to Egypt.[41] The same word in Sudanese traditions denotes the previous inhabitants of the country whom the Funj came to dominate at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, and is used, at present, by the Arabs of the Sudan to signify the inhabitants of the Kordofan Hills. The terms *Nūbiyyin* or Nubians as opposed to *al-Nūba* are applied in modern Arabic and English usage respectively to denote the inhabitants of the Nile Valley approximately between the first and the third cataracts.

In short, according to Arabic usage in the Middle Ages, all those who lived south of Aswān were called *al-Nūba* whether they were the inhabitants of the three Christian kingdoms of al-Marīs, al-Muqurra, and 'Alwa, or slaves captured from *Bilād al-Sūdān*. However, to avoid ambiguity, an attempt will be made to restrict this term, *al-Nūba* (English, "Nubian") to the inhabitants of al-Marīs and al-Muqurra or the Kingdom of Nubia.

The advent of Christianity marked the beginning of a new epoch in the Sudan. The two northern kingdoms al-Marīs and al-Muqurra were culturally superior and more sensitive to developments in Egypt. The southern kingdom, though endowed with richer resources, culturally lagged behind the other two because of its close proximity to the primitive southern tribes. The two larger blocks, al-Muqurra and 'Alwa, were thus drifting apart. However, their adoption of the Christian faith created a cultural stimulus and a new moral bond.

The arrival of persecuted Christians from Egypt stimu-

lated the spread of this faith in the Sudan.[42] However, official missionaries were sent by the Byzantine Court at Constantinople in the middle of the sixth century A.D. By 580 proselytism was carried out by Monophysites among the Nobatae and in Alodia and by Orthodox (Melkite) missionaries in Makuria. The discovery of Christian ruins at Jabal Saqadī near Sinnār and 'Ayn Faraḥ in Dār Fūr, has been taken by archaeologists to mark the spread of Christianity in that country.[43] Indeed Abū Ṣāliḥ claims that there were no less than four hundred churches in 'Alwa.[44]

It is significant to note that the Christian missionaries made their primary aim to convert kings and nobles. As a result of this Christianity was closely identified with local political institutions. The king remained a central figure in religious as well as secular matters; he was the source of stability of the whole regime. When the Arabs attacked Nubia in the seventh century A.D., Christianity was securely established as the state religion.[45]

Muslim historians state that the *Nūba* were Jacobites, that is, Monophysites.[46] The fate of the Melkites was sealed by the Arab conquest of Egypt. For nearly a century (A.D. 637–731) the Melkite church at Alexandria was without a patriarch and so could not send any bishops to al-Muqurra.[47] On the other hand the Monophysite Coptic Church, which was favoured by the Arab rulers, supplied al-Muqurra with bishops and consolidated its position there. The religious unity of the northern kingdoms came well after the political unification. From that time, al-Muqurra and 'Alwa looked to Egypt for spiritual guidance and for a supply of bishops.

The nomadic Beja tribes inhabited the eastern desert, extending from Qūṣ to Maṣawwa' between the Red Sea and the Nile. They were accustomed to raid the settled inhabitants of Nubia and Upper Egypt[48] from about A.D. 250. Several times between A.D. 250 and 297 the Beja or Blemmyes[49] drove out the Roman garrison of Lower Nubia and

seized Upper Egypt until finally the Emperor Diocletian abandoned the Dodecaschoenus (Aswān to al-Maḥrraqa region) to them and to the Nobades. Their raids on Egypt continued to A.D. 450 when they were forced to sign peace for a hundred years with Rome. The end of their power came at the hands of Silko, who defeated them decisively in about A.D. 540 and drove them back to their poverty-stricken desert.

The culture of the nomadic Beja did not exhibit the same degree of Egyptian influence as that of their neighbours along the Nile Valley. Their greatest cultural attainment was when the Blemmyes settled in the Nile Valley and adopted the prevailing civilization: the Beja continued to exist as if unaware of all that happened around them. They had no desire to exploit their gold mines, and no aptitude for maritime pursuits. The earliest Arab accounts relate that the Beja were idolaters,[50] but it seems that those who lived in ports or along the Egyptian border professed Christianity.[51] However, although the Christian faith lingered on for a few centuries, it had never taken root as it had in *Bilād al-Nūba*.

There is no evidence about the condition of the Beja before Muslim writings of the third and fourth/eighth and ninth centuries. A fairly detailed, though confused description of the Beja and their country is given by al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn Ḥawqal, and Ibn Sulaym. The inconsistency of their accounts may be due to the ever-changing tribal structure, and the adoption of new names in such a vast country. Al-Ya'qūbī describes five Beja principalities or tribal *dārs*:[52]

(1) Naqīs extending from Aswān to *Khōr* Baraka with its capital at Hajar[53] was inhabited by the Ḥadāriba, 'Amā'īr,[54] Zanāfij, etc.

(2) Baqlīn was an extensive principality with many towns and its inhabitants al-Zanāfij professed a dualist doctrine.

(3) Adjoining Baqlīn and the Kingdom of 'Alwa was Bāzīn.
(4) Jārīn, which lay between the port of Bāḍi' and *Khōr* Baraka, was a powerful principality.
(5) The large principality of Qiṭ'a extending from Bāḍī' to the unidentified Faykūn. Hardly any unity existed among these principalities and they were not able to sustain any strong resistance to an organized enemy.

Ibn Ḥawqal's account[55] goes into more detail about the principality of Naqīs, which was no longer called by that name. He relates that the Beja were nomads like the Arabs living in woollen tents and always on the move in search of pasture between the Nile and the sea. They reared many cattle and fine camels. Owing to their proximity and the resemblance of the Abyssinians to the Beja some Arab writers considered the latter to be a "race of Abyssinians" and their country was named "Middle Abyssinia".[56] North of Abyssinia on *Khōr* Baraka lived the Khāsa, one of the oldest tribes of the Beja stock who spoke (and still do) a Semitic language. West of them towards the eastern frontier of 'Alwa lived the inner Beja, who according to Ibn Ḥawqal were richer and stronger than the Ḥadāriba whose country extended from the north to the neighbourhood of Sawākin and Jabal Musmār.

Ibn Sulaym adds that the Ḥadāriba were overlords of the Zanāfij:

> Among them (Ḥadāriba) are another people, the Zanāfij more numerous than the Ḥadāriba, but subject to them. They act as guards[57] and supply the Ḥadāriba with cattle. Every chief of the Ḥadāriba has among his people a group of the Zanāfij who are like slaves whom they inherit; though the Zanāfij were dominant in the past.[58]

Some of the Zanāfij had settled in Shunqayr, the eastern stretch of the Nile between Barbar and Abū Ḥamad, under

a Nubian chief. Al-Ya'qūbī spoke of them as the inhabitants of Baqlīn, twenty-five stages from Wādī al-'Allāqī.[59] Indeed, towards the end of the seventh century A.D. they had pushed through Khōr Baraka into the Eritrean plateau.[60]

2. *Pre-Islamic contacts with Arabia*

Contacts between the Sudan and Arabia were in existence long before Islam. Traffic followed two main routes: the first, from north Arabia, ran across the Sinai desert, through Egypt and into the Sudan; the second was either from south-western Arabia across the straits of Bāb al-Mandab into Abyssinia and thence northward, or directly across the Red Sea, which was never a formidable obstacle to communications. The relative ease of navigation in the southern half of the Red Sea, the sea-faring disposition of the southern Arabians, and the presence of natural harbours on the African coast all help to explain the frequent intercourse between the two shores. The sparsely populated central and northern Arabian coast had no significant role such as that played by Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt. Having settled on the African shore, the enterprising south Arabians pushed inland to tap virgin sources of trade. The presence of Semitic names in the region of Maṣawwa' testifies to the activities of the Sabaeans[61] there in about 400 B.C.[62] Soon, however, merchants were followed by immigrants.

Owing to the poverty of its resources, the Arabian peninsula at times became over-populated; this led to mass migrations across its limits.[63] In addition, periodic droughts induced nomads to drift away in small groups, to search for pastures, and some of them crossed the Sinai desert to Egypt.[64] The prosperous agricultural and commercial community of south-western Arabia was not spared nomadic encroachments, and suffered from a weakening of

the monsoons and the consequent decrease in rainfall. This was followed by intensive sand-storms blowing from the interior. The result was an intensified migration of the Sabaeans towards Abyssinia and the African coast.[65] Some of these migrants reached the southern Beja land, where they were assimilated into the local stock, although they imposed elements of their Semitic tongue, which came to be known as Tigre, on the existing dialect.

The prosperity of the Yemen was also affected by the change of land routes from western Arabia. Many of the southern tribes also became nomadic and migrated to the north and may even have crossed the Red Sea to the western shore. The Yemen itself soon fell under the Axumite rule. This era of decline was symbolized in Arab traditions by the breaking of the Ma'rib dam which, in its day, reflected the prosperity of the region. In short, whether migration was in search of pasture, or in the pursuit of trade, many of these calamities must have accentuated the overflow of the southern Arabians into Africa.

Egypt, too, was harassed by nomads who came through the Sinai desert, either from northern Nufūd or from the Syrian desert, and increasingly, after the first century A.D., from the Hijaz and from south-western Arabia. Some of these tribes may have pushed further into the eastern desert.[66] Indeed, "the Greeks named the eastern desert Arabia because it was from the desert that the Arabs appeared".[67] Strabo (66 B.C. to A.D. 24) remarked that the eastern desert was inhabited by Arabs, some of whom carried merchandise on their camels between the Nile in Upper Egypt and the Red Sea ports.[68] The second century A.D. witnessed intensive commercial activities conducted by the Nabataeans[69] in the same area. This is proved by the discovery of Nabataean inscriptions and also a Himyarite one.[70]

It has so far been suggested that some of the Arabs may have drifted across the Egyptian border or migrated across

the Red Sea. The Himyarite king Abraha Dhū'l-Mannār (*c.* 134 B.C.) is alleged to have invaded the *Bilād al-Sūdān* and to have reached as far as the Maghrib. About 46 B.C. his son Ifrīqīsh or Ibn Ifrīqī is said to have conquered North Africa. This legend gave rise to the Arab tradition related by Ibn Khaldūn that Kitāma and Ṣanhāja, the Berber tribes, were descended from the invaders.[71] Al-Mas'ūdī is probably echoing the same legend when he states that the kings of al-Muqurra were of Himyarite stock. Ibn Sulaym rejected this statement in favour of a descent from Ḥām the son of Nūḥ.[72]

Although it would be very difficult to accept Ibn Khaldūn's statement as an authentic historical tradition, these legends may retain a memory of Himyarite migration from the Yemen.

It has been suggested by Cameron, who was quoting local tradition in 1887, that the Ḥadāriba is a name given by the Beja to the Ḥaḍārima[73] (the inhabitants of Ḥaḍramawt), who are said to have crossed the Red Sea in pre-Islamic times and settled among the Beja north of Sawākin.[74] This statement is not substantiated by any contemporary records. However, these intruders were apparently numerically fewer than the Beja, namely the Zanāfij, with whom they intermarried. They adopted the Beja language and in time became indistinguishable from them. Because of the matrilineal system of succession which was prevalent throughout the Sudan at that time,[75] they acquired authority, and by means of their advanced culture as traders, cultivators, owners of horses and camels, they consolidated their hold. Thus a new ruling group imposed itself. The class system alluded to by Ibn Sulaym is possibly an expression of the new political organization introduced by the dominant tribes.[76]

The words *balwiet* and *balwia* in the northern Beja language, or Tu-Bedawie, mean Arabic and Arab respectively. The origin of this word probably dates from the

time when the Beja first came into contact with the Arab tribes and possibly with the tribe of Baliyy. Whether the Baliyy are those said to have lived in the Sinai desert in pre-Islamic days,[77] who may have pushed further into the eastern desert,[78] or the others who migrated in large numbers during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (13–23/634–44) into Egypt and then moved southward,[79] is difficult to decide with any certainty. However, there is some evidence from al-Idrīsī in support of the former theory:

> The outskirts of Aswān are subject to attacks of the cavalry of the *Sūdān* (dark-skinned) named al-Baliyyūn who have claimed that they are *Rūm* or Greeks,[80] Christians in religion since the days of pre-Islamic Egyptians and before the advent of Islam. But they are schismatics in Christianity, that is Jacobites. They wander between the Beja land and Abyssinia and they have contacts with the land of the *Nūba*.[81]

In another passage he remarks ". . . al-Baliyyūn are noted for bravery and resolution. All the nations around [them] make peace with them and are apprehensive of their mischief. . . ."[82] Kirwan argues that the name of this people is derived from Blemmyes. He points out the Demotic and Coptic forms are Blhn or Blh.w, and Beleḥmu or Baleḥmu respectively.[83] His inference lacks proof and this slight resemblance is perhaps no more than a coincidence. In the opinion of one authority, the Beja were never reputed to possess horses.[84] It is highly probable that they were regarded as *Rūm* simply because they were Orthodox Christians. Furthermore a Beja legend claims that the Baliyyūn[85] were Arabs who had arrived before the Muslim conquest.[86]

From this scattered, obscure, and uncertain evidence it seems reasonable to say that, in pre-Islamic times, the Beja country was a rallying point for Himyarite immigrants who arrived by the land routes and across the Red Sea. By

the time of the advent of Islam, there were already contacts between the Arabs and the Sudan, but these gained importance under Islam. Muslim Arabs followed the well-trodden paths which had been used for centuries by migrants and traders alike.

(2)

RELATIONS WITH THE MUSLIM ARABS

21–218/641–833

1. *First clashes with the Nūba*

In Muslim times the Arabs had three major routes of access to the Sudan. The first in order of priority and importance was by way of the Sinai desert and Egypt. Movements by this route are relatively well documented; indeed, the process of Arabization and Islamization of the Sudan proceeded mainly along this route. The second was across the Red Sea; but this way is hardly mentioned except in Sudanese traditions whose genealogists considered it as the main route that their forefathers had followed from the Hijaz. This is not as impossible as it might seem, for both Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa witnessed large numbers of pilgrims using this route from ʿAydhāb to Jedda in the Middle Ages.[1] There is also mention of a clan that crossed back from *Arḍ al-Maʿdan* or the Land of the Mines to the Hijaz in the third/ninth century. Even today members of the Juhayna tribe still traverse the Red Sea between Jedda and Port Sudan in the same type of boats or *sambūks* that their forefathers have used for centuries.[2] The cumulative evidence does not exclude migration by sea, but the numbers of those who used this route cannot be considered large. Certainly, there was nothing comparable to the size of the tribes who migrated by way of Egypt. Arabs who entered the Sudan by way of Abyssinia must, of course, be

classified under the second route. The third and probably the least important is the route from north-west Africa. The number of Arabs who drifted from that area was not sufficiently large to make it worthy of consideration as a major route.

The emergence of Islam was an event of far-reaching consequence in Arab history. It provided the Arabs with a religious bond which became the foundation of their unity and their political achievements. Its appearance coincided with an increase in population that time and again carried them across their borders. But under the direction of Islam and its religious fervour, the sphere of Arab expansion grew wider. In Africa 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, encouraged by the Arab victory over the Byzantines in Syria, pressed hard against Egypt. He defeated the Byzantine forces there and consolidated Arab rule over the new province. Upper Egypt was retained as a separate administrative unit under 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ.[3] The task of warding off attacks by the Nubians and the Beja, both of whom instilled great fear into the Egyptians, fell to the frontier town of Aswān. Dismayed by the disaster that had befallen their co-religionists, the Nubians continued to harass the Egyptian border. It was this constant menace that prompted 'Amr to send out raids against Christian Nubia, and it is clear that this was not part of a deliberate policy to spread Islam further south.[4] Indeed, there is hardly any evidence to show that the Muslim governors of Egypt ever showed any missionary zeal towards the Sudan with the exception of a single incident in the Fatimid period.[5] The spread of Islam was mainly due to the peaceful intercourse of the traders and to the penetration of the Arabs who settled and intermarried with the peoples of the Sudan.

Judging from the obscure and confused Muslim accounts describing the first clashes, there were two main invasions: one in 21/641–2 and another in 31/651–2.[6] The

earliest recorded tradition of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) relates without *isnād* or a chain of transmitters that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ sent Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Qays al-Fihrī with a company of cavalry which campaigned against Nubia in repeated summer expeditions until he was succeeded by 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ in 25/646–7, who finally reached an agreement with the *Nūba*.[7]

The same tradition is related by al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892) on the ultimate authority of Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb the Nubian (d. 128/746) and a certain Abū'l-Khayr; but he adds that the Muslims suffered great casualties at the hands of the skilful Nubian archers whom the Arabs henceforth nicknamed *rumāt al-ḥadaq*, or the eye-smiters. Quoting a Himyarite elder, who participated in two campaigns during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (13–23/634–44), through a chain of six transmitters, al-Balādhurī states that the army was anxious for 'Amr to make peace with "those people whose booty is meagre, and whose spite is great". However, 'Amr refused and continued the attack.[8]

Al-Ṭabarī states on the ultimate authority of Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, that the Muslims attacked Nubia in the year 20/641 after the conquest of Egypt and that their attacks were inconclusive as they were met with stout resistance.[9]

Al-Maqrīzī states clearly, although without naming his sources, that 'Amr sent 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd with 20,000 fighters against Nubia after the conquest of Egypt in the year 20/641. The number of this force is probably very much exaggerated and is undoubtedly larger than the Arab force that conquered Egypt itself. Furthermore, it would be difficult to maintain supplies for such a force in the barren lands of Nubia. Al-Maqrīzī's unsubstantiated statement that 'Abdallāh concluded a "treaty" is perhaps without foundation.[10]

When 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd succeeded 'Amr in 25/646–7 as governor, the Nubians were still raiding Upper Egypt. In reprisal for their attacks 'Abdallāh marched in 31/651–2

as far as Dunqula with an army of 5,000[11] and besieged the city using catapults, thereby ruining its cathedral. The Nubians resisted bravely but, possibly terrified by the catapults, they sued for peace. The Arab losses, and their inability to defeat the Nubians decisively, undoubtedly prompted 'Abdallāh to accept Nubian offers of peace. He is reported to have made a "treaty" with Qalaydurūth, the Nubian king, which regulated Nubian-Arab relations in respect of security and trade.[12]

2. *Diplomatic relations with the Nubians*

Development of the tradition of a treaty. It is doubtful whether 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd actually concluded a "treaty" in the manner described by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and other sources.[13] A comparison of the earliest accounts may reveal how this tradition developed:

I. Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb the Nubian (d. 128/746), one of the elders of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, states on his own authority that 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd concluded a truce with the Nubians that neither should attack the other and that annually the Nubians should furnish the Muslims with a number of slaves in exchange for provisions. Yazīd adds that there is no treaty, *'ahd*, or compact, *mithāq*, between the Nubians and the inhabitants of Egypt; it is only a truce of security, *hudnat amān* from one side to the other.[14]

II. Also on the authority of Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, al-Ṭabarī states that 'Abdallāh engaged with the Nubians to supply the Muslims annually with a number of slaves.[15]

III. The same opinion is substantiated by al-Layth b. Sa'd as quoted by al-Balādhurī, who states, as if in reply to a question, that the terms of the settlement between the Muslims and Nubians were that they were to refrain from fighting one another, and that the Nubians were to deliver slaves in return for which the Muslims would pay the equivalent in provisions.[16]

IV. However, before the end of the second/eighth century there was great difference of opinion on this truce between Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), the leading jurist, and his colleagues. Mālik believed that the Nubians had concluded a treaty of peace or juridical *ṣulḥ* and that therefore they were not to be enslaved as far as the border with 'Alwa. But 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 'Abdallāh b. Wahb, Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb and al-Layth b. Sa'd did not agree with him. Al-Layth categorically stated "we know the question of Nubia better than Mālik".[17]

V. A detailed description of the amount exchanged between the Muslims and Nubians is transmitted by a certain Abū Khalīfa Ḥumayd b. Hishām, probably a contemporary of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, on the authority of Abū Zakariyyā or Abū Yaḥyā who heard it from his father 'Uthmān b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 219/835). The latter gave this information to the 'Abbasid general 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir in Egypt in 211/826, when he inquired about the charter of the Nubian *Baqṭ* or *Kitāb Baqṭ al-Nūba*. 'Uthmān was reported to have answered: "I have this information concerning the Nubians which you require preserved in memory[18] by elders from elders present in that place at the truce, *hudna*, and the treaty of peace, *ṣulḥ* concluded between 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd and the Nubians".[19] The Nubians engaged to deliver 400 slaves: 360 to the treasury and 40 to the governor of Egypt. In return they received 1,300 *irdabb*[20] of wheat, and as many of barley, 1,300 jars of wine, 2 fine horses, and 131 pieces of cloth including some to the King himself. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir denied the gift of wine by the Arabs. 'Uthmān, the narrator, remarked that 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (d. 85/704) also disapproved of the wine. However, when 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir checked this information with the *dīwān* or records kept outside al-Fusṭāṭ he found it to be correct.[21]

VI. Another tradition denies categorically that the Muslims promised to deliver anything in return for the

slaves they received, and attempts to explain this unorthodox interchange of benefits otherwise. The tradition explains that when the Nubians delivered the first *Baqṭ* to ʿAmr b. al ʿĀṣ they presented him with an extra forty slaves as a gift which he declined to accept and returned the present to Nastaqūs[22] the superintendent of the *Baqṭ* who later exchanged the slaves for provisions and wine and gave these to the Nubians.[23] They also received cereals, textiles, and horses from ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd to whom King Qalaydurūth had complained of shortage of food.[24] However, what began as a courtesy developed into an established tradition.

VII. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam quotes the authority of one of his elders (whom he does not name), who claims to have read the truce with Nubia in the register at al-Fusṭaṭ before it was allowed to fall into disuse. The elder remembered that the Nubians solemnly engaged to deliver annually three hundred and sixty slaves and that they would allow the Muslims to enter their country as travellers but not as settlers. The same privilege was likewise conferred on the Nubians. However, if the Nubians were to kill a Muslim or harbour a runaway slave the truce was to be considered annulled. The Nubians also engaged to return *ahl al-dhima*[25] to the Muslims.[26]

VIII. The text preserved in al-Maqrīzī's *Khitat* is well formulated and greatly expanded. It constitutes the final formalization of the treaty of Nubia.[27] It runs as follows:

> 1. In the amen of God. . . . This is a treaty granted by the Commander ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ to the King of the *Nūba* and all his kingdom, a compact binding of the *Nūba* both great and small from the border of Aswān to that of ʿAlwa.
> 2. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd made a covenant of security and truce (*jaʿala la-hum amān wa hudna*) between them (the *Nūba*) and the Muslims—their neighbours in Upper Egypt. Together with other Muslims and *ahl*

al-dhimma: You *Nūba* people shall be safe under the safeguard of God and His Apostle, the Prophet Muḥammad may the blessing and the peace of God be upon him. We shall neither fight, nor wage war on you, nor attack you, so long as you abide by the conditions made between us and you.

3. You may enter our country as travellers not as settlers and we may enter your country as travellers and not as settlers. You shall protect those Muslims or their allies who tarry or travel there until they leave. You shall return to the land of Islam the runaway slaves of the Muslims; you must not take possession of them nor prevent nor hinder any Muslim who comes to take them and you must render him assistance until he leaves your country.

4. You shall maintain the mosque that the Muslims have built in the centre of your city and not hinder anyone from praying there, and you must keep it swept, illuminate it and treat it with respect.

5. Every year you shall deliver three hundred and sixty head of slaves to the *Imām* of the Muslims. They shall be slaves of good quality of your country,[28] without defect both male and female, neither extremely old nor children under age. Those you shall deliver to the governor of Aswān.[29] If you harbour a runaway slave of a Muslim or kill a Muslim or a *dhimmi* or attempt to destroy the mosque which the Muslims have constructed in the centre of your city or withhold any of the three hundred and sixty slaves, then the truce and the security shall be abolished and we shall revert to hostility until God decides between us and He is the best judge.

6. Upon these conditions we are bound by the pledge of God, His covenant and protection and that of His apostle Muḥammad . . ., and you pledge yourself by all that you obey in your religion and

community. And God is the witness between us and you. Written by 'Amr B. Shuraḥbīl in Ramaḍan 31, (April–May 652).[30]

Historical commentary on the traditions. From this survey I am inclined to believe that 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd's attack on Dunqula in 31/651–2 did not result in a decisive victory. He realized that he had to contend with a competent adversary and therefore preferred to conclude a truce of security *hudnat amān.* There was indeed no victor nor any vanquished. This fact is clearly demonstrated by the terms of the truce related by Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb (see tradition 1). It is significant to note that Yazīd denied the conclusion of an *'ahd*, treaty or *mithāq*, pact, and insisted that it was only a truce of security, so that neither would attack the other. Moreover, the two sides agreed to exchange slaves for provisions; a transaction commonly known as the *Baqṭ*.[31] The *Baqṭ* is probably a loan word of Latin origin through the Byzantine Greek, which was used in the Byzantine Empire to mean "a compact of mutual obligation and its connected payments".[32] In short 'Abdallāh's attempts to put an end to Nubian raids on Upper Egypt and to formalize such matters of mutual advantage as security and trade were both achieved.

It is probably true to say that the tradition related to Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb is the nearest authentic account of what happened in 31/652; and it is of great importance as it forms the basis of later embellished traditions.

Al-Maqrīzī's text, probably the final stage in the development of this tradition, states that the treaty was concluded (in this form) after the battle of Dunqula in 31/652. This is very doubtful on historical grounds. Firstly, clause 4 refers to a mosque in Dunqula. This suggests a state of affairs in which Muslims were well established. It is historically improbable that at so early a date a mosque would have already been constructed in the

centre of Dunqula since this implies the presence of a community of Muslims which could hardly have existed then. Indeed, as late as 365/975 when Ibn Sulaym visited the city he did not refer to any mosque and stated that about sixty Muslims went to the outskirts of the city to say the special prayer of *ʿĪd al-aḍḥā*. This had angered certain Nubians who had wanted to harm the Muslims and indeed would have done so had it not been for the king's timely intervention.[33] It was only in 717/1317, when the cathedral was converted, that there definitely was a mosque in Dunqula.[34] It would seem, therefore, that this version of the treaty describes relations between the Nubians and the Muslims after the third/ninth century.

By the time this treaty was written in its final form, it seems that Muslims no longer paid anything for the slaves they received; indeed, in this text there is no mention of what the Muslims paid. Whether they continued to pay it without acknowledgment is difficult to say.

Clause 3 did not permit the Arabs to take a fixed abode in Nubia, but I doubt whether this restriction was enforced for long. Merchants were guaranteed a free passage and could now benefit from the vast commercial potentialities further south. Through their knowledge and contacts with the *Nūba* these traders began to lay a foundation for later Arab penetration, at the same time acting as missionaries of Islam among Christians and pagans alike.[35]

In short, the truce or the "treaty" shows that the Arabs had no intention of occupying Nubia and were trying by its moderate terms to put an end to raids of their southern neighbours and to open the country for trade. However, the delivery of the Nubian *Baqṭ* remained the keystone of Muslim-Nubian relations and the arrangement was maintained with little change for all of six centuries.

The only recorded adjustment took place in the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158–69/775–85). According to al-Balādhurī,[36] the Nubians had complained of the difficulty

of sending the *Baqṭ* regularly, as they had to collect it from slaves captured from their enemies further south, and if they got nothing from them they had to send their own children.[37] To lighten their burden al-Mahdī told them to deliver the *Baqṭ* once every three years.[38] However, about 218/833 the Nubians became lax in payment, probably encouraged by the distraction of the governors of Egypt with internal disturbances. According to one source[39] they were unable to pay the *Baqṭ* and therefore the Muslims stopped the dispatch of provisions that they were accustomed to send and incited raids against Nubia. A Coptic source states that the Muslims demanded the delivery of fourteen years of arrears in payment.[40] The matter was discussed at length in the Nubian court. George, the crown prince, expressed disfavour of subordination to the Arabs. His cautious father, King Zakariyyā b. Yaḥnnus sent him on a fact-finding mission to Baghdad before committing himself to war. He advised George, if the Muslims were found to be stronger, to plead for a reduction of the *Baqṭ*. George was highly impressed by Muslim power and dazzled by the glory of Baghdad. There, he was cordially welcomed by the caliph, who bestowed on him many gifts and cancelled the *Baqṭ* arrears. In reviewing the *Baqṭ* the caliph, al-Mu'taṣim, (218–27/833–42) discovered that its value fell below what the Arabs paid.[41] This readjustment was indeed similar to that made in the reign of al-Mahdī and might have been merely a confirmation, arising from the fact that at one time Muslims questioned the authenticity of the first amendments as no record of them could be traced outside Egypt.[42]

Muslim jurists and relations with Nubia. In dealing with international relations Muslim jurists divided the world into two parts, *Dār al-Islām* or the land of Islam which must ultimately absorb the second, *Dār al-Ḥarb* or the

land of war.[43] When the Muslims were victorious, or if the enemy capitulated, the Muslims would grant a unilateral concession, the standard form of Muslim treaty. The agreement with Nubia, therefore, does not fit into this simple pattern of relations, and seems alien to Muslim international law, since it would leave Nubia in an intermediate status between the land of war and the land of Islam. The very use of the word *Baqṭ* to describe this treaty may imply the existence of some type of agreement between the Nubians and the Byzantine rulers of Egypt which constituted a model for 'Abdallāh to follow. Some such instrument may well lie behind the elaborate "treaty" given by al-Maqrīzī.

This unorthodox arrangement proved a difficulty for Muslim jurists as legal categories hardened. Mālik b. Anas considered Nubia as a land of *sulḥ*, that is, a country which capitulated, for which reason its inhabitants should not be enslaved. His colleagues who were living in Egypt, however, although jurists, were more aware of the historical facts that surrounded the conclusion of the treaty and thus disagreed with Mālik.[44] Although it is possible to say that the "historical facts" may have been legal arguments for and against the enslavement of Nubians, cast in historical form, such an approach seems to me most unlikely: these historical facts were those of an authentic but exceptional situation, from which the Muslims failed to emerge victorious, and were probably truly represented in the tradition ascribed to Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb. The fact that these traditions were repeatedly quoted by *Traditionists* or *muḥadithīn*, like Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who were jurists by profession, does not mean that they were legal arguments retrospectively created to cater for that difficulty.

Other jurists disapproved of the exchange of provisions for slaves and argued that the practice had no legal basis because the goods were in the nature of gifts.[45] Paradoxically, this was no more than a jurist's attempt to give the

barter a measure of legality. But, in point of fact, al-Mahdī ordered that the Nubians were to receive in exchange for their slaves, wheat, vinegar, wine, and clothing, or their value.[46] Furthermore, the Muslims discovered in the reign of al-Mu'taṣim that the value of these provisions exceeded what the Nubians delivered in slaves. At the same time the caliph disapproved of the wine and confirmed the food and clothing.[47]

By the middle of the third/ninth century jurists reached the first stage in accommodating the truce within the scope of Muslim international law. Tradition VII relates the nucleus of the truce but with significant changes.[48] Firstly, there is no mention of what the Muslims should pay. Secondly, it speaks of the return of runaway slaves, renegades, and *ahl al-dhimma*—administrative problems that could hardly have existed in the days of 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd. Thirdly, it conferred on the subjects of each side the right to travel in each other's country.

The final stage is reached in the text preserved by al-Maqrīzī (tradition VIII) in which previous amendments and additions were retained. The truce was framed in the standard form of a Muslim treaty: a unilateral concession granted by 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd to the Nubian king in order to afford a quasi-legal acceptability for a rather unorthodox agreement. Although the text begins with the word *'ahd* or treaty, it retains the spirit of the original truce by using towards the end of the text the words *hudna* and *amān*, truce and security. For this reason Nubia came to be known in Muslim international law as *dār al-Amān* or *al-Mu'āhada*, that is, the land of security or pact.

3. *Nubia in the late Umayyad period*

As would be expected the Nubians did not accept the *Baqṭ* treaty wholeheartedly and tended to ignore it whenever they could. Towards the end of the Umayyad caliphate

the Nubians reasserted themselves, this time in sympathy with their co-religionists in Egypt. The Muslim destruction of Christian icons,[49] fiscal extortion, and the imprisonment of the Coptic Patriarch Anba Mikhā'īl by the governor, led to revolts among the Copts. According to a Coptic source King Cyriacus of Nubia, with an army of 100,000 horsemen and 100,000 camels, marched against Egypt. The number of the Nubian attackers was probably greatly over-estimated. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. Mūsā,[50] the governor, hastily released the Patriarch and asked him to intervene and to stop the Nubian campaign. Cyriacus returned after laying waste Upper Egypt and killing and capturing many Muslims.[51] Muslim sources say nothing about this campaign although Ibn al-Furāt referred to an inconclusive Arab attack on Nubia in the caliphate of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (105–25/724–43).[52] The whole incident may have been no more than a raid.

After failing to stem the advance of the victorious 'Abbasid forces in the East, Marwān II fled to Egypt, whence he entrenched himself for a last stand. However, in his defeat and death, the Umayyad dynasty came to an end. Throughout the Empire, Umayyads were hunted down and extirpated. 'Abdallāh and 'Ubayd Allāh,[53] sons of Marwān, together with a retinue of 2,000 or 4,000[54] fled from Egypt to Nubia, where they became guests of its king, who, being aware of the change of dynasty, was cautious in handling the refugees. He is represented, after discussing the affair with the refugees, as having concluded that it was due to their irreligious and unjust rule that God had inflicted his punishment upon them. This probably represents the attitude of the 'Abbasid chronicler rather than that of the Nubian king. However, fearing further repercussions he asked them to leave his kingdom and warned them that the *Sūdān* were numerous and worth little booty.[55] According to al-Ya'qūbī the political refugees were hoping to use Nubia as a permanent residence

in an attempt to regain their lost power. However, realizing this was no longer possible they decided to go to Arabia. On their way to Bāḍi', a Red Sea port, the unfortunate Umayyads were harassed by the Beja, who sold them water only at a high cost. The two brothers, perhaps as a safety precaution, then took different routes to the sea. 'Ubayd Allāh was killed by Abyssinian (probably Beja) fighters, after which his followers pushed on to the coast. 'Abdallāh with a reduced retinue of forty or fifty succeeded in crossing the Red Sea from Bāḍi'.[56] This incident is doubly important: first it points the way in which political refugees and others came time and again to the Sudan; secondly, it provides support to the Sudanese tradition that the Umayyads were ancestors of the Funj kings.

4. *First contacts with the Beja*

Muslims had established contacts with the western coast of the Red Sea in the lifetime of Muḥammad. Abyssinia was particularly well known to Meccan merchants; the first Muslim refugees fled there and were protected by its king. Muslim tradition relates that the Abyssinian king embraced Islam, and corresponded with the Prophet. The latter is reputed to have said: "Leave the Abyssinians alone as long as they leave you alone".[57] Hence Abyssinia and possibly the Beja country was not considered as part of the "land of war".[58] However in 20/640 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb risked a naval expedition when Jedda was attacked by Abyssinian pirates. The Muslims sacked Adulis[59] but lost three out of their four ships.[60] To curtail this danger from pirates Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad caliph, occupied the strategic islands of Dahlak in 83/702;[61] but this action did not put an end to the menace, for in 151/768 the Kurk, who were apparently a group of Abyssinians, raided Jedda once more and Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr sent an army to disperse them in 153/770.[62]

Meanwhile Muslim merchants were peacefully establishing themselves on the western coast re-developing old trading centres. The port of Bāḍi', which was to attain fame later, was mentioned in connection with a Muslim who migrated to it in the year 16/637.[63] In addition, the caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (11–13/632–4) was believed to have deported a group of Arabs to the 'Aydhāb region.[64] The same policy was carried further by the Umayyads and early 'Abbasids who banished a number of undesirable elements, including some poets, to the islands of Dahlak.[65]

On his way back from the Dunqula campaign to Egypt, 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd was met by a Beja gathering on the bank of the Nile. After making inquiries about them he did not consider it worth stopping to negotiate with them;[66] but apparently in the neighbourhood of Aswān he subdued the Beja, who became Muslims in name only.[67] The first settlement between the Arabs and the Beja took place at about the end of the first century A.H. It seems that 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, the superintendent of finance in Egypt made a treaty with the Beja after defeating them. They agreed to pay a tribute of three hundred young camels annually and received the privilege of entering as travelling merchants, though not as settlers. They were not to kill a Muslim or a *dhimmi*, and if they did so the treaty was to be void. They also agreed not to harbour fugitive slaves of Muslims and to return them. For every sheep or cow a Bejāwī stole he would have to pay four or ten *dīnārs* respectively. To ensure the enforcement of this treaty a Bejāwī agent was kept as a hostage in Egypt.[68]

This settlement, unlike the *Baqṭ* treaty, fits perfectly into the simple pattern of Muslim international law because it resulted from a defeat and was therefore acceptable to the jurists; likewise it attempted to check the encroachment of the people of the Sudan into Upper Egypt and at the same time helped to open the Sudan to Muslim influences.

From the early days of Islam some contacts between

Egypt and the Hijaz were made through the northern part of the Sudan. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd crossed directly from the Hijaz to Aswān before the Dunqula campaign in 31/651; while in 204/819 the chief of Qift, Ibrāhīm al-Qiftī, went on pilgrimage with a group of his relations using the same route. He was so well acquainted with the Beja country that the Beja saw in him a great menace to their safety and persuaded their chief Muḥā to have him killed. Ibrāhīm and his companions were allowed to lose their way in the desert. They all died from thirst with the exception of his young son who managed to return to Qift and tell the tale.[69] The Muslims kept the matter secret until Muḥā and thirty of his followers came to trade in their usual manner, whereupon they were instantly put to death. The Beja reaction was quick: they attacked Qift, killed many men and returned with seven hundred captives. An 'Alid from Qift succeeded in regaining some of the captives by peaceful means. For seven years the inhabitants of Qift pressed the governor of Egypt to intervene but his hands were tied with other problems. In 212/827 help came from an unexpected quarter: Ḥakam al-Nābighī of Qays 'Aylān, a man of wealth and virtue and a wager of holy war, decided to avenge the captives. He came from al-Ḥawf in Lower Egypt with a thousand men and continued to raid the Beja land for three years until he freed the Muslim captives and captured some of the Beja.[70] The voluntary reaction of these Arabs to avenge the Beja attack suggests that there was a deeper motive for their intervention; indeed, as long as the Arabs were contented in Egypt, the Sudan did not figure much in their annals.

5. *Initial Arab discontent and its effect on the Sudan*

The Arabs in Egypt were a privileged minority. They formed, during the Patriarchal, Umayyad, and early days

of the 'Abbasid caliphate, the ruling class and warrior aristocracy, receiving pensions from the treasury. To preserve their fighting qualities 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb did not allow them to own land, so that they would not engage in agriculture. Even when this restriction was swept away they did not pay the full land-tax, and continued to live in the cities. Only towards the end of the Umayyad rule did they start to mix with the Egyptians. In a few hundred years Egypt was turned into an Arab and Muslim country.[71] Many of the Arab nomads were, however, not attracted by the settled life.

The exact number of Arabs who came to Egypt is unknown. Only the figures preserved in Arabic sources, perhaps no more than rough estimates, give us an idea of their numbers. They mention that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ came with an army of three or four thousand, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām followed him with five or twelve thousand, and 'Abdullāh b. Sa'd had twenty thousand in his first campaign against Nubia! There were forty thousand Arabs in al-Fusṭāṭ and twenty thousand in Alexandria in the caliphate of Mu'āwiya (40–60/661–80).[72] Fearing a tribal feud in Syria 'Umar I ordered the transfer of one third of the tribe of Baliyy to Egypt.[73] The flow of immigrants continued without restriction and was stimulated by the frequent changes of governors, each of whom brought his own tribesmen or guards, who might have numbered as many as 6,000, 10,000, or even 20,000.[74] There were no less than eighty-three governors between 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (second office 38/658) and 'Anbasa b. Is'ḥāq al-Ḍabbī in 242/856. Nearly all the Arab tribes were represented among the first arrivals, but the majority were probably Yemenites.[75]

From the time of the governorship of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (66–85/685–704) there was a deliberate Umayyad policy to encourage Qaysite migration (to Egypt) to balance the Yemenite tribes. In 109/727–8 'Ubayd Allāh

b. al-Ḥabḥāb the Qaysite, took four hundred families[76] from different clans of Qays, and settled them in the rich land of al-Ḥawf. They practised agriculture and were exempted from land-taxes. Some brought camels and began to carry provisions to al-Qulzum, where they made a good profit. These good tidings brought five hundred nomadic families to the same area and a year later they were followed by a similar number. The influx continued so that by 153/770 there were no less than 5,200 families in al-Ḥawf.[77] The sedentary occupations of these Arabs encouraged their intermixing with the Egyptians, and were in turn an important factor in the spread of Islam among the Egyptians. The Copts were gradually induced by social and financial privileges to be converted to Islam and to adopt the Arabic tongue.

The overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty in 132/750 marked the end of the "Arab Kingdom". Since the ʿAbbasid Revolution[78] had been supported by discontented Arabs and *Mawālī*,[79] the new regime tried to reconcile the different interests of the two factions. The caliph remained an Arab and paid respect to "Arabdom" but signs of change were apparent. The praetorian guards of the new regime were the Khurāsānīs, that is, a mixture of Arabs and Persians, but were no longer recruited purely from Arab warriors; indeed, the Arab warrior caste was stripped little by little of all its privileges; pensions were only paid to those in active service, and even they were ultimately replaced by Turkish slaves. Sensing this change Arab tribesmen began to settle down as cultivators, or to return to nomadic life, while some, unable to accept the new situation, drifted away into new lands. The Mawālī were no longer despised, and soon, as Muslim, Arabic citizens,[80] they were integrated with the Arab "aristocrats". West of Persia the process of Arabization and Islamization reached such a degree that the term Arab almost lost its ethnic significance and was restricted to nomads.

The province of Egypt passed through the same process. Here the first century of 'Abbasid rule was punctuated by frequent insurrections, caused mainly by the Arabs, though they were sometimes supported by the Copts. In 165/782 Daḥya al-Muṣ'ab, the Umayyad, proclaimed himself caliph and established his influence in Upper Egypt. Mūsā b. Muṣ'ab the new governor (167/783–4), like his predecessor, failed to repress the revolt, and drove the Arabs to open rebellion by his heavy-handed methods. He imposed new levies on markets and domestic animals and doubled the land-tax. Mūsā, deserted by his own army, was defeated and killed by the combined efforts of the Yemenites and Qaysites. In 169/785–6 al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ, accompanied by an army from Syria, pacified lower Egypt, and killed the Umayyad pretender.[81] The spell of peace which followed had not lasted long before the Qays tribesmen of lower Egypt refused to pay the land-tax and took up arms in 186/802 and 191/807. A group of the Baliyy resorted to brigandage.[82] Subsequently a bitter struggle ensued between the central government and the nomads who wanted to enjoy the fruits of their land and to avoid taxation. In the civil war between the sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Amīn, and al-Ma'mūn, the former appointed the chief of Qays as his representative who in turn succeeded in defeating the governor of al-Ma'mūn. Meanwhile the Lakhm, a powerful Yemenite tribe, captured Alexandria in 200/815. Egypt was only restored to order by trusty Khurāsānī troops under the general 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir in 212/827. However, once his strong hand was removed, the unruly Arabs flared up to assert their rights. When al-Mu'taṣim, the caliph's brother, came in 215/831, with four thousand Turkish soldiers, the Arabs besieged al-Fusṭāṭ itself. He dispersed the rebels, and took two hundred captives from amongst their leaders.[83] A few months later the Arabs and Copts together refused to obey the

caliph in protest against injustice, and drove out his representatives.[84] The rebellion continued for a whole year until the gravity of the situation compelled the caliph to attend to it himself: he ruthlessly suppressed the revolt in 216/831. This is the type of conflict which was to go on for centuries between the nomads and the governors of Egypt. There were probably many other unrecorded incidents of a similar nature. This struggle undoubtedly created an atmosphere of distrust and a gulf between the Arabs in Egypt and the government of Baghdad. Yet the bitterest disappointment still faced them.

Caliph al-Mu'taṣim inaugurated his rule by dispatching an order to his governor in Egypt to strike off the names of all Arabs from the register of pensions and to stop paying their salaries.[85] This was indeed a turning point in the history of the Arabs in Egypt. In short, their service as fighters was no longer needed; they were replaced by Turkish military slaves or *Mamlūks* (owned). The Muslim world had known the Turkish slaves since the Umayyad period but they had been employed infrequently. Al-Mu'taṣim recruited large numbers for his personal bodyguard, and employed some to crush the Qaysite rebels in Egypt, three years before his accession. He felt that there was a need for them as the Khurāsānī troops, the chief support of the 'Abbasid regime, were either Arabized or had established their own petty states within the Empire. Following the lead of al-Mu'taṣim the succeeding caliphs enlisted bands of Mamluks complete with their Turkish commanders. The new troops were "expatriates with no local . . . affiliations (and) therefore the more devoted to the central government".[86] Their fighting qualities had long been noted and were undoubtedly superior to those of the Arab militia. From this time Turkish Mamluks were used increasingly all over the Muslim world, together with the Nubian soldiers who were recruited for a limited time,[87] for the same

reasons, by the rulers of Egypt. Commenting on al-Mu'taṣim's decision, the author of *al-Khiṭaṭ* wrote, "Thereafter vanished the Kingdom of the Arabs from Egypt, and its troops became Persians and *Mawāli* from the region of al-Muṭaṣim".[88]

Al-Muṭaṣim's decision did not pass unchallenged: Yaḥyā[89] b. al-Wazīr al-Jarawī, with five hundred Yemenites from the tribes of Lakhm and Judhām, "threw off"[90] the government's authority in order to protect their usurped rights to pensions.[91] Having lost this source of income, some Arabs began to settle and intermix with the Egyptians, while others drifted further south.[92] In Upper Egypt, far from the immediate control of the central government, the terrain was suitable for the Arabs to continue with their revolts, sometimes under the leadership of 'Alid pretenders.[93] Between 219–258/834–72, although the majority of the governors continued to be Arabs, Egypt was given as a fief to a member of the 'Abbasid dynasty, or to a Turkish commander, who normally sent a representative to govern on his behalf, and to send him the proceeds of the revenue. However, it is evident that the natural flow of Arabs into Egypt was not affected by these changes and in time Egypt became "a reservoir" of Arab tribesmen.[94]

The Turkification of the army initiated by al-Mu'taṣim was probably the most important factor in inducing the Arabs to migrate into the Sudan. The size of this movement was closely correlated with the degree of Turkification of the rulers and the army, which reached its zenith in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods; but this is in advance of our present narrative.

During the early, disturbed decades of the third century of Islam, it seems that nomadic Arabs began to enter the Sudan in small parties which passed unnoticed and unrecorded by historians. These nomads were attracted by the vast, rich pastures that they heard of from Arab

traders. The frontier between Egypt and the Sudan was guarded on the Nile Valley at Bajrāsh, south of the border where the governor of al-Marīs, *Ṣāḥib al-Jabal*, or "the Lord of the Mountain" as he is called in Arabic sources, prevented unauthorized people from entering Nubia;[95] but this checkpoint could easily be avoided.

However, north of Bajrāsh, Arabs of the Qaḥṭān, the Rabī'a and the Quraysh, who were living in Aswān, bought land from Nubians during the Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods. This development angered the Nubian king who saw in it a latent danger. He claimed that "his subjects and his slaves",[96] who cultivated those lands as serfs, had unlawfully sold his domains to the Arabs. The matter was raised with al-Ma'mūn[97] on his visit to Egypt in 216/831 and he referred it for settlement to the governors and notables of Aswān. The Arab owners incited the Nubians to reject the king's claim and to deny that they were his slaves. The sale of the land was confirmed, and the dispute was closed. It is not clear from al-Mas'ūdī's account whether the Arabs took permanent residence in al-Marīs, or remained as absentee landlords at that time. However, Ibn Sulaym, who visited the region in about 365/975, states that the Arabs behaved, in al-Marīs, like landlords.[98] The presence of Arabs there is testified by the discovery at Tāffa of Muslim tombstones with Arab inscriptions dated 217/832[99] and others in Kalabsha dated 317/929.[100] The Arab penetration into al-Marīs laid the foundation of the Kanz dynasty which was to play a significant role in the history of the Sudan two centuries later.

Meanwhile the Beja continued their ravages on Upper Egypt in their normal manner, despite the attempts of Ḥakam al-Nābighī to check them in 212/827. About 218/831, however, Caliph al-Mu'taṣim sent out 'Abdallāh b. al-Jahm[101] who defeated them and made an agreement with their chief, Kannūn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. This agreement,

like that made by 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb with the Beja, was a unilateral concession. It also shows a marked increase of Muslim influence in the Beja land. The full text of the treaty is preserved in the account of Ibn Sulaym as transcribed by al-Maqrīzī and a summary of it is given below:[102]

(1) The Beja land from Aswān to the land between Bāḍi' and Dahlak[103] together with its inhabitants was to be the property of the caliph; Kannūn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz to remain its king.

(2) He was to pay an annual tribute, *kharāj*,[104] in the same way as his predecessors, of one hundred camels, or three hundred *dīnārs*, whichever the caliph preferred.

(3) The Beja were not to mention Allāh, the Qur'ān or Muḥammad disrespectfully, or to help the enemies of Islam in any way. They were not to kill a Muslim or a *dhimmī*, whether a free man or slave, either deliberately or in error; nor to rob them, whether they were in the land of the Beja, the *Nūba* or Islam. If they did kill one, they were to compensate the Muslims by paying ten times the normal Beja blood-fine for each category, and ten times the value of any stolen property. They were to return Muslim fugitives or strayed cattle.

(4) Muslims were to be permitted to enter the Beja land as residents, traders, travellers, and pilgrims without molestation or hindrance.

(5) The Beja agreed not to destroy any of the mosques which the Muslims had built in Ṣinja,[105] and Hajar and to allow Muslim officials to collect alms or *ṣadaqa* from those who adopted Islam.

(6) The Beja were to enter Egypt unarmed when they were trading or passing through, and were not to enter villages or towns. They were denied access to the region between al-Qaṣr and Qubbān. An

agent of Kannūn was to reside in Upper Egypt to ensure the enforcement of these conditions. If any of these terms were violated, the treaty would be invalidated, and the Muslims would be free to fight the Beja.

It is doubtful whether Kannūn, whose authority was probably mainly concentrated in the neighbourhood of Aswān,[106] could have wielded enough influence to conclude a treaty on behalf of the Beja, who formed many principalities. By agreeing to pay tribute, the Beja were treated as a conquered people. When Kannūn recognized the 'Abbasid overlordship and became a vassal, the victorious Arabs found an opportunity to extend their own influence, at least on paper, as far as Bāḍi'. Arab gains were thus immense and the treaty acted as a spearhead which opened up the Beja country to Arab influence. Arabs were free to move about the area or to settle; their commercial interests, religious freedom, and personal safety were all safeguarded by this agreement. Unlike in Nubia, there was nothing to stop them from coming through the eastern desert into the Sudan. The presence of mosques indicates that Muslims had already penetrated the territory and that their number was large enough to warrant the collection of alms for the Muslim treasury. The Arabic name of Kannūn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz is a proof of Arab penetration in this early period. This claim is supported by the fact that the agreement was translated into the Bejāwī language by two Arabs: Zakariyyā b. Ṣāliḥ from Jedda and 'Abdallāh b. Ismā'īl of Quraysh.[107] Both of them may have lived among the Beja and learned the language. Whether Kannūn himself was a Muslim cannot be decided; however, when 'Alī Bābā, the Beja chief, visited Baghdad two decades later, he was accompanied by his idol.

It was during those campaigns that the Arabs were attracted by the presence of gold and remains of gold

mines in the eastern desert.[108] Rumours were already circulating about the rich mines which once gave the Pharaohs fabulous wealth. It is even possible that Arab adventurers took the initiative before the campaign of 'Abdallāh b. al-Jahm. Some mines of gold and emerald were discovered in the "Land of the Mines" between Qūṣ-Wādī al-'Allāqī and the Red Sea. Clause VI of the treaty of 216/831 denied the Beja access to the region between al-Qasr and Qubbān whose roads lead to Wādī al-'Allāqī, one of the main mining centres.[109] The opening of the mines coincided with Arab resentment of al-Mu'taṣim's policy and before long hundreds of them swarmed towards the Sudan in what became a virtual "Gold Rush".

(3)

ARAB ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN MEDIEVAL SUDAN

c. 240–900/854–1494

THE major part in the Arabization of the Sudan was played by the nomadic tribal groups who were attracted by the rich pasture that lies beyond the desert of al-Muqurra. There were also economic activities carried on by Arabs (using the term more loosely to cover Arabic-speaking individuals and groups of varied origins) concerned with trading, particularly in slaves, the exploitation of the gold and emerald mines in the eastern desert and the transit of pilgrims and Eastern Trade through the Red Sea ports. These economic activities will form the subject of this chapter.

1. *The slave trade*

It was primarily for commercial reasons that the Arabs penetrated into al-Muqurra and 'Alwa in the early centuries of Islam. Arab merchants brought grain,[1] beads, and combs, and took back ivory, ostrich feathers, cattle, and slaves.[2] It is probable that the last item constituted the main activity of the Arab merchants who sought to satisfy the great demand for slaves in the Muslim world. From the days of the Pharaohs until the coming of the Arabs, Nubia had from time to time sent a tribute in the form of slaves to the rulers of Egypt. The *Baqṭ* treaty more or less continued the same practice. However, it was the acquisition of slaves in large numbers on a commercial basis, which made this traffic assume great importance.

Muslim law does not allow the enslavement of Muslims or *dhimmīs* and it only recognizes two types of slaves: one captured in war (booty), and another born in slavery.[3] During the early period of Muslim expansion the Muslim world was flooded by slaves from different origins, for example Persians, Turks, *Nūba*, and Berbers; but their numbers became much reduced because of frequent emancipation or manumission of slaves. Furthermore when the first wave of conquest was spent the flow of captives was very much reduced. Consequently the majority of the slaves required were obtained by commercial as opposed to military means from outside the Muslim world. Large caravans were busy transporting slaves mainly from central Asia and Africa to the slave markets in the major cities of the Empire.[4] In these markets, slaves were sold for many purposes. In his comprehensive manual on "slave trade" Ibn Buṭlān gives a detailed description of each type of slave.[5] Two categories were keenly demanded and acquired in large numbers: the first were Turks recruited as soldiers or Mamluks; the second were the *Sūdān* or the Blacks, commonly known as *al-Nūba*, who were used as domestic servants, labourers, and troops.

It seems that the Nubians delivered under the *Baqt* agreement during the first two centuries of Islam created a good name for themselves as useful servants and faithful employees. This impression is echoed in two traditions ascribed to the Prophet: "He who has no friend should take a friend from the Nubians"; and, "Your best captives are the Nubians".[6] Ibn Buṭlān states that Nubian females made good midwives and successful nurses for children, because they were good-looking, gentle, and merciful.[7] This is substantiated by evidence from the Geniza literature from the early twelfth century A.D. where it is clear that Nubians were favoured as domestic servants.[8] Attractive Nubian and pretty Bejāwī girls or *jawārī* were valued as concubines.[9] Male slaves from *Bilād al-Nūba* were also

favoured as custodians of wealth and families.[10] The eunuchs among them were particularly suited for this last type of work. The operation of castration was apparently carried out outside the boundaries of the Muslim world as it is condemned in Muslim law.[11]

Bands of *Sūdān* slaves were engaged in the mines of *Arḍ al-Maʿdan* or the Land of the Mines.[12] Al-ʿUmarī, the Arab entrepreneur, bought many and employed them in his own mines north-east of Abū Ḥamad.[13] There is no mention of any Nubian slaves being taken as far as al-Baṣra where thousands of negro slaves were employed in reclaiming the soil and extracting salt.

The majority of the *Sūdān* slaves were, however, recruited for military use, especially in Egypt. From the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim onwards, Arab warriors were replaced mainly by Turkish Mamluks. It is probable that the same reason which induced the ʿAbbasid caliph to rely on Turkish recruits also caused the Tulunids, the Ikhshidids, to depend on foreign elements. Their need was even greater. In their bid for independence they threw off allegiance to the central government in Baghdad and suppressed local vested interests. The need for a strong trusted personal bodyguard was keenly felt: Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn recruited 7,000 freeborn fighters—possibly Arabs —24,000 Turkish slaves, and 40,000 *Sūdān*.[14] The ratio between these figures is more important than the actual numbers mentioned. Each group had its own cantonment and that of the *Sūdān* was called the Nubian camp. A fraction of these *Sūdān* might have been delivered under the *Baqṭ* but the majority were actually bought.[15] Although Ibn Buṭlān is silent about the fighting qualities of the *Nūba*, the fame of the skilful Nubian archers might have commended them to Ibn Ṭūlūn. This is, however, beside the point; the fact that the majority of Ibn Ṭūlūn's soldiers were *Sūdān* indicates that they were probably cheaper and easier to obtain than the Turks.

Muslim legal opinion seems to regard the stealing or capturing of Nubians by Muslims as unlawful. However, Muslims were allowed to buy those enslaved by their own kings or captured by one group from another.[16] Indeed, it seems that slavery was not uncommon among *al-Nūba* themselves. Al-Masʿūdī states that after the settlement of the question of land ownership by Muslims in al-Marīs in 218/833, the subjects of the king of Nubia were divided into two categories: those living in al-Marīs were free, which presupposes that they were previously subjected to a form of slavery; while those outside al-Marīs were regarded as slaves of the king.[17] However, Muslim law was not strictly enforced.

A Christian source states that as early as 130/747–8 Muslims were in the habit of stealing Nubians and selling them in Egypt.[18] Nāṣir-ī Khusraw too reports that Muslims and others stole Bejāwī children and sold them in Muslim towns.[19] It is conceivable that Muslim warriors under the pretext of holy war might have raided Nubia and the Beja country either in self-defence or to bring captives. Such action does not represent the official attitude; for Muslim authorities tried in general to maintain peaceful relations with their southern neighbours. The Nubians and the Beja were, however, in the habit of attacking Upper Egypt whenever they felt that the rulers of that country were occupied with grave problems elsewhere. For example in 344/955 the Nubian king for no apparent reason raided Aswān and killed many Muslims. In the following year Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khāzin defeated the Nubians and conquered the town of Ibrīm from which he brought back one hundred and fifty captives.[20]

The place of origin of these slaves is not known for sure. The confusion is partly caused by the fact that the words *Nūba* and *Sūdān* are loosely used and almost interchangeable in Arabic sources.[21] Nubia with its sparse population could not have supplied the Muslims with large number

of slaves without suffering depopulation. The Nubians paid the *Baqṭ* from slaves they captured from their southern neighbours.[22] It seems reasonable to assume that the majority of slaves were not actually Nubians, though commonly known by that name, and that they were procured from an ever widening area in the vast interior.

Unfortunately Arabic sources do not tell us much about the areas from which these slaves were obtained. Al-Iṣṭakhrī states that the black slaves sold in the land of Islam were not Nubians, Beja, Abyssinians nor *Zanj*[23] but a darker people who came from beyond *Bilād al-Nūba* and who lived in a vast stretch of land that extended to the great ocean.[24] When Nāṣir-ī Khusraw visited Egypt he saw large numbers of black soldiers in the Fatimid state who were obtained from a region south of Nubia. He described it as having wide pastures, plenty of animals and inhabited by strong black people.[25] Speaking of the Takuna people who lived south of 'Alwa, Yāqūt writes that some were captured by others from their own people and then carried to *Bilād al-Islām*.[26] All this would mean that slaves were obtained from *Bilād al-Sūdān* in the wide sense.

The manner of acquiring slaves is not clear from the extant sources. Abū Ṣāliḥ states that slaves and cattle were bartered for manufactured goods near Upper Maqs where the Lord of the Mountain resides.[27] There is evidence to show that Muslim merchants entered Nubia and penetrated beyond its southern frontier and probably the same process of barter was conducted.[28] Al-Ya'qūbī reports that Muslims frequented Sōba; these were probably exclusively merchants. On his visit to the same place Ibn Sulaym encountered a group of Muslims some of whom were traders.[29] Al-Dimashqī when writing his account on 'Alwa states that he collected his information from merchants who were well acquainted with that region.[30] The main business of traders was likely to be the securing of this

human merchandise which probably yielded huge profits in Egyptian markets.[31]

It is highly probable that Muslim merchants were not themselves engaged in capturing slaves. The King of 'Alwa had the right to enslave his subjects.[32] The Takuna people were in the habit of capturing one another.[33] In the neighbouring country of Abyssinia, the inhabitants stole the children of one another and sold them to merchants.[34] Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the primary acquisition of slaves was carried out by local merchants or chiefs who fought one another and then exchanged their captives for products that Muslim traders had brought.

The demand for black slaves continued to flourish during the days of the Ikhshidids and Fatimids. The founder of the Ikhshidid dynasty (323–58/935–69), Muḥammad b. Tughj, recruited a larger army[35] of different elements including Nubians. Among his personal bodyguard was a Nubian[36] eunuch, Kāfūr, who soon distinguished himself as a trustworthy and capable administrator. Kāfūr, who grew up with the Ikhshidid regime, became the virtual ruler of Egypt after the death of his master in 335/946. For nineteen years he conducted the affairs of Egypt and defended the country with some success. Naturally during his rule he recruited many troops from his own countrymen.[37]

Moving from the west the Fatimids conquered Egypt in 358/969 with the help of Berber tribes. Although the Fatimids claimed Arab descent they did not shower special favours on the Arabs and only on rare occasions was the military help of Arab tribes ever sought. In 397/1006, for example, the chief of the Rabī'a in the neighbourhood of Aswān, was rewarded with the title of Kanz al-Ḍawla on capturing the Arab rebel Abū Rakwa.[38] However, during its long life the Fatimid dynasty rested on the support of foreign recruits—Berber, Turkish, and *Sūdāni* troops. The

caliph kept an uneasy balance among these elements whose behaviour was exacerbated by jealousy and intrigue.

The increasing power and misbehaviour of the black soldiers in the latter part of the reign of al-Ḥākim (387–412/997–1021) angered the Turkish and Berber troops and induced them to take common action.[39] After a series of clashes the power of the black troops was diminished. However, they regained their influence in the long reign of al-Mustanṣir (427–87/1035–94) whose *Sūdāni* mother[40] recruited large numbers of her countrymen and relied on them to check other elements, the Turks in particular.[41] With the growth of their numbers and the moral support they received from the caliph's mother, the black troops' taste for political intrigue grew stronger than before. They were, however, defeated in 454/1062 by a combined force of Turkish and Berber troops, who drove about 50,000 of them to Upper Egypt.[42] From there they repeatedly advanced against Cairo to unseat their enemies and for many years they remained a source of trouble. This unrest coincided with a famine which brought the country to the verge of economic collapse. The situation was saved by the Vizir Badr al-Jamālī, who, in 469/1076, quelled the turbulent black troops and the unruly Arab tribes in Upper Egypt.[43]

Despite this temporary eclipse in the fortune of the black troops, the demand for black slaves continued until the advent of the Ayyubids in 567/1171. The black troops became an inseparable part of the Fatimid state in whose very existence they had a vested interest. In 564/1168 Mu'taman al-Khilāfa, the influential black eunuch in the Fatimid court, was killed by order of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī while attempting to contact the crusaders. The news of his murder provoked 50,000 *Sūdāni* troops into open rebellion. This was a protest against the ascendance of the new dynasty—the Ayyubids.[44]

In the bitter struggle that followed the black troops were

ruthlessly hunted down and their living-quarters, in Cairo, were burnt to the ground. Many of them retreated to Upper Egypt and continued to defy the new regime. In 568/1172 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sent an expedition under his elder brother Turān Shāh, who defeated them, and in 570/1174 an Ayyubid army put an end to the last remnants of Fatimid support in Upper Egypt.[45]

With the change of the dynasty the demand for black slaves declined greatly. As the Ayyubids' military support was drawn mainly from Turkish, Kurdish, and Daylamite elements, the military service of the black troops was no longer required.

The demand for black slaves was not restricted to Egypt although it remained the chief market. The governor of Dahlak delivered in 366/977 to Ibn Ziyād the ruler of the Yemen a tribute of one thousand slaves, half of which were Nubian and the other half Abyssinian girls.[46] Ibn Ḥajar preserves names of Nubian slaves who had attained fame in the Hijaz.[47] This country had always been an important market for slaves from the western coast of the Red Sea. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa claims to have seen a Nubian slave girl in the court of the Tater Khan in the Crimea.[48] The Moroccan sultan, 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. Ya'qūb (d. 752/1351), was the son of a Nubian slave girl.[49] Even in Abyssinia, which was not lacking in slaves, Nubians figure much in the campaigns of its rulers in the early tenth/sixteenth century. A supporter of Aḥmad al-Garñ was claimed to have led 15,000 Nubian fighters.[50]

The slave trade had influenced the penetration of the Arabs into the Sudan in two ways. In the first place, although the majority of the black slaves were procured from *Bilād al-Sūdān*, those obtained from Nubia and 'Alwa deprived these countries of their young elements and might in the long run have lessened their chances of standing in the way of the Arab tribes which were soon to submerge the Sudan. Secondly, the penetration of Muslim

traders had increased the Arab knowledge of that country and its pastures—a knowledge which possibly made their movements much easier. In the light of what happened later it appears that the traders acted as missionaries among the inhabitants. Therefore, while in pursuit of trade they carried the frontier of Islam deep into the heart of the country and, by their incessant coming and going, accelerated the diffusion of Islam.

2. *The mining activities*

The re-discovery of gold and emeralds in the eastern desert opened a new horizon of opportunities for the discontented Arab tribes of Egypt. The "Gold Rush" had begun in the early decades of the third/ninth century and by 240/854 there were already a considerable number of Arabs working these mines. The Beja, though not interested in exploiting the mines themselves,[51] were none the less unwilling to allow Muslims to do so; indeed, immediately prior to 240/854, they attacked the Arab miners, capturing their wives and children, and, being unable to defend themselves, the Arabs fled.[52] The Beja action was a clear violation of the treaty of 216/831. Moreover the consequent stoppage of mining deprived the Muslim treasury of a fifth of the taxes in kind, which the state collected as royalty from the owners. The last Arab governor of Egypt, 'Anbasa, wrote to the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (232–247/846–7–861) asking for instructions. The disheartening reports on the ferocity of the Beja and lack of food and water in their wild deserts discouraged the caliph from taking action. The Beja, emboldened by their initial successes over the Muslim mining activities, and the reluctance of the central government to act against them, continued to harass Upper Egypt and to withhold the tribute. A certain Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī volunteered to put an end to their insubordination.

After great preparations in which al-Qummī had a free hand, he marched south with 20,000 warriors including volunteers from the Arabs who had been driven away from their mines.[53] This number is definitely too large for a campaign in a desert where there is no water. A more acceptable figure—three thousand—is given by Ibn Ḥawqal who adds that the troops were levied in equal numbers from three Arab tribes at Wādī al-ʿAllāqī: Rabīʿa, Muḍar and Yaman.[54] Simultaneously, seven ships laden with provisions sailed from al-Qulzum to the Beja coast near ʿAydhāb.[55]

After crossing the "Land of the Mines" the Arabs encountered ʿAlī Bābā, the Beja chief, at the head of a large army. He harassed the Arabs without giving them open battle, hoping that they would surrender when their provisions were exhausted. However, the safe arrival of the foodstuffs sent by sea compelled ʿAlī Bābā to attack. Before the charge, al-Qummī fastened all the bells in his camp to the horses' necks, which, coupled with the shouts and the sounds of drums, made a deafening noise, scaring the refractory Beja camels and causing them to unseat their riders and flee in utter disorder. This caused great havoc in the Beja army and brought about their defeat.[56] Defeated in battle, ʿAlī Bābā was compelled to accompany al-Qummī on a visit to the caliph at Baghdad from whom he received many gifts. ʿAlī agreed to recommence payment of tribute and not to hinder the Arabs from working the mines.[57]

In the same year al-Mutawakkil appointed Saʿd al-Itākhī to watch over the Beja and the pilgrim-route between Egypt and Mecca, possibly through the Red Sea ports.[58] Saʿd deputed the task to al-Qummī, who thereupon took up residence at Aswān.[59] The appointment of a commissioner to that region shows very clearly the importance of the mines for the caliphs, who saw to it that the governor was appointed from Baghdad.

As a result of this peace many more Arabs gradually made their way towards the "Land of the Mines". Both tribes and individuals participated in the migration, and even remote regions like Najd sent their own quota. The harsh rule of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥasanī al-Ukhayḍir, who entered al-Yamāma in 238/852–3, drove tribes from the Rabī'a and the Muḍar in this direction. They came in several thousands, some of whom settled in al-Ḥawf, but the majority were attracted to the mines.[60] Describing the inhabitants of Wādī al-'Allāqī, al-Ya'qūbī says that the majority were Arabs from the Rabī'a b. Ḥanīfa who came from al-Yamāma with their families and children.[61]

The best documented example of individual Arab activity in the land of the mines is the adventurous career of al-'Umarī.[62] 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-'Umarī, a descendant of the caliph 'Umar I, was born in Medina. When he visited Egypt in 241/855 he was already a well-educated man. Like many other *entrepreneurs*, al-'Umarī bought slaves and went off to the "Land of the Mines" where he took up residence in a camp of Muḍar Arabs. While there, he led them into a quarrel against the Rabī'a and was defeated by overwhelming odds. Al-'Umarī, therefore, moved to another mine further south at al-Shanka.[63] Here, there was not enough water for mining activities, although the Nile was not far away; but the Nubians of al-Muqurra were suspicious and prevented him from drawing water from the Nile. Al-'Umarī tried to secure water by peaceful means, but the Nubians were adamant. Offended by their stubborn behaviour, he forged the mining tools into spears, armed his people, and attacked the inhabitants of Shunqayr.[64] Many Nubians were killed in this campaign, while others retreated to the western bank with their goods. At night the Arabs crossed the Nile, captured the boats of the fleeing Nubians and defeated them once more after sacking some islands in the river.[65]

In these campaigns the Arabs took so many captives

that many of them were sold in the markets of Aswān and the mining centres. It was probably with the intent of exchanging these captives for provisions that al-'Umarī invited merchants of Aswān to come to his camp. A certain 'Uthmān b. Tihāma came with a thousand camels loaded with provisions.[66]

Another result of al-'Umarī's success against the Nubians was to alarm the king, who sent his capable nephew Niūty to obstruct al-'Umarī. After several campaigns Niūty gave up the struggle and reached a settlement by which al-'Umarī's movements were to be restricted to a certain area. Disapproving of his nephew's action the king sent his elder son to resume the conflict, but after several setbacks the Nubian prince was forced to take refuge in 'Alwa. His brother Zakariyyā then signed a truce with al-'Umarī and concentrated his military efforts against Niūty. Defeated by Niūty, Zakariyyā won al-'Umarī's confidence and became his ally. With al-'Umarī's help Zakariyyā skilfully murdered Niūty and won his army over. Before long Zakariyyā defeated al-'Umarī and forced him to abandon his camp. He then apologized to the Arab commander, saying that he had to defend his country and asking him to leave immediately.

Al-'Umarī's defeat brought about a crisis among his own followers, especially the Qays 'Aylān and the Syrian Arab tribe of Sa'd al-'Ashīra. The latter accused al-'Umarī of favouring the Qays. In order to weaken al-'Umarī, Zakariyyā won the Sa'd al-'Ashīra to his side and gave them lands in the vicinity of Wīdān, probably Adandān, and al-Daw.[67]

From there, al-'Umarī retreated with his followers to a mine to the north, about three stages from the Nile.[68] While exploiting this mine he continued to make raids against the Nubians. He invited the Sa'd al-'Ashīra to settle their differences with him, and this they did; but al-'Umarī treacherously killed one hundred and fifty of them

and dispersed the rest. Henceforth he settled in the Nile Valley, probably on the same land which had originally been allotted to the Sa'd al-'Ashīra. These hostilities disturbed Prince Zakariyyā who marched against al-'Umarī with a large force. The news of this advance compelled al-'Umarī to retreat to the neighbourhood of Aswān.[69]

Al-'Umarī's adventures in the "Land of the Mines" and Nubia were viewed with suspicion and disfavour by the new master of Egypt, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, whose support was drawn mainly from Turkish and Nubian slaves.[70] He regarded the Beduins as a great danger to the state and was alarmed at the prospect of having to deal with an Arab principality, not far from Upper Egypt, which was a hot-bed of Arab risings. For this reason he stationed an army at Aswān under Shu'ba b. al-Kharkām al-Bābakī, to watch al-'Umarī.[71] With a force of twelve hundred al-'Umarī immediately encamped at Arṭala, one stage from Aswān.[72]

Before war commenced al-'Umarī spoke to Shu'ba, the Tulunid commander. He said that Ibn Ṭūlūn was misinformed about his activity and denied having killed a Muslim or a *dhimmī*. He asserted that he was only fighting the enemies of Islam. Al-'Umarī concluded by asking Shu'ba to carry a letter to his master to explain the situation. Shu'ba's refusal was followed by the shattering defeat of the Tulunid army.[73] Laden with much booty al-'Umarī entered Aswān and marched down to Idfū, which he soon left for the "Land of the Mines".

When al-'Umarī returned to the mining centres in 256/869 he found large numbers of Arabs there. These included clans from the Rabī'a, the Juhayna and Syrian Arabs. The Rabī'a tribesmen were led by three different chiefs: Ashhab b. Rabī'a from the Banū Ḥanīfa b. Lujaym, Mannās b. Rawḥ and Muḥammad b. Sarīḥ from the Bakr b. Wā'il and their allies. The Juhayna tribesmen were headed by 'Uthmān b. Sa'dān while the Syrian Arabs had

a chief from Sa'd al-'Ashīra. Over these trībes al-'Umarī established his influence and his fame stood high.[74]

It was estimated that no less than 60,000 camels were engaged in carrying provisions from Aswān to the mines while other provisions were brought via 'Aydhāb from al-Qulzum. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, still anxious to weaken al-'Umarī, threatened to obstruct the flow of provisions from the mines. But al-'Umarī retorted that he could muster more than 100,000 supporters,[75] and thereupon Ibn Ṭūlūn dropped the whole matter.[76] These figures need not be taken literally: they are only a pointer to the extensive volume of traffic in the north-eastern regions of the Sudan.

Al-'Umarī's wide sphere of influence did not last long. Rivalry and dissension among the tribes weakened his position. The Rabī'a sided with the Beja in whose country they settled and began to intermarry. The Beja killed al-'Umarī's half-brother Ibrāhīm al-Makhzūmī and others while on their way to 'Aydhāb.[77] The Beja's hostility may be due to the atrocities committed by al-'Umarī in retaliation for a Beja attack on some of the inhabitants of Upper Egypt who were attending an *'Id* prayer.[78] According to this tradition al-'Umarī killed many Bejāwīs and compelled them to pay the *jizya* to him.[79] However, al-'Umarī asked the Rabī'a, the Beja's allies, for a settlement or to give him a free hand to deal with the murderers of his brother. The Rabī'a refused to give way in either case, and the Muḍar refused to take sides while the Banū Tamīm and the Banū Hilāl adopted an evasive attitude. With those followers who were still faithful, al-'Umarī attacked the Rabī'a and after a long and bitter period of warfare emerged victorious.[80] He did not live long to enjoy the fruits of success: he was killed by the daggers of two tribesmen from the Muḍar, who carried his head to Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn.[81]

Al-'Umarī's adventures clearly evidenced not only an

attempt to check the Beja and to discover new mines but also a spontaneous movement of hundreds of Arabs freeing themselves from government control. Al-'Umarī almost succeeded in establishing the first Arab principality in that region. It is no exaggeration to state that his success stimulated further migrations which followed the same pattern.

The increasing influx of Arab tribes into the mining centres is evident from al-Ya'qūbī's account, written two decades after al-'Umarī's successful penetration. Al-Ya'qūbī describes the Arab activity and enumerates the names of the mines which were scattered throughout the northern Beja country. In his description he divides the mines into two categories: the emerald, and the gold mines.[82] Several of these mines are difficult to identify and until a thorough archaeological survey is carried out it would be rash to speculate too far. It may, however, be useful to state the names of these mines and the tribes that worked them.

The majority of the so-called emerald mines were near Qift and Aswān and they yielded a variety of precious stones: emeralds, topaz, turquoise, etc.[83] Eight stages from the town of Qift were found a group of emerald mines named Kharibat al-Malik, al-Ṣābūnī, Mahrān, and Mukābir.[84]

Gold was gathered from a number of small mines stretching over a wide area: from Kharibat al-Malik to Wādī al-'Allāqī in the south. Three of the nearest mines to Kharibat al-Malik were known by the names of the tribes who probably worked them: al-Kalbī, al-Shukrī, and al-'Ijlī. Three stages from Kharibat al-Malik lay the mine of Raḥam, worked by people from the Juhayna, the Baliyy and others. All these mines were within easy reach of Aswān. To the south east of Aswān were the mines of al-Ḍayqa, al-Buwayb, al-Bayḍiyya, Bayt Abū Ziyād, 'Udhayfir, al-Jabal al-Aḥmar, Jabal al-Ḥayāḍ,

Qabr Abū Mas'ūd and Wādī al-'Allāqī.[85] The last mine was fifteen days' march from Aswān.[86]

At one stage from Wādī al-'Allāqī[87] there were the mines of al-Jabal, 'Anab,[88] mā' al-Ṣakhr, and Kubān,[89] which were worked by Rabī'a tribesmen. Two stages from al-'Allāqī were A'mād, al-Akhshāb, and 'Arabat Baṭḥā.[90] The mine of Mayzab, four stages away from Wādī al-'Allāqī, was worked by the Baliyy and the Juhayna; ten stages further were the mines of Duḥ, worked by the Muḍar and the Banū Sulaym; al-Sanṭa[91] was controlled by the Banū Muḍar and others. Al-Rifq and Sanḥtīt were also worked by Muslims. Al-Ya'qūbī mentions al-Burkān mine about thirty stages away and also worked by Muslims.[92]

Wādī al-'Allāqī was the most important mining centre in the region and it served as a focal point for the smaller mines around it. The name of Wādī al-'Allāqī is probably connected with the Banū 'Allaq of the Sulaymān b. Mansūr,[93] the date of whose arrival in that region is not known. However, the first mention of a mining centre by this name occurs in al-Ya'qūbī's geography written *c.* 278/891. "Wādī al-'Allāqī is", to quote al-Ya'qūbī,[94] "like a great city with numerous people: a multitude of Arabs and non-Arabs."[95]

Most of these people were engaged in trading as well as mining activities. The whole region had close contacts with Aswān and 'Aydhāb[96] to which they exported gold and emeralds and from which they received supplies.[97] At Aswān, there was a number of merchants[98] who, it would seem, supplied the mines with the necessary capital. In a unique letter which probably dates back to the first decades of the "Gold Rush" a certain Muḥammad b. Mu'āwiya requested an unnamed person to intercede so that the writer might enter al-Ma'dan—or the mine—and purchase for all his family.[99] In another letter which goes back to the middle of the third/ninth century, there is reference to the dispatch of a packet of gold from Nubia

(probably the mines east of Nubia) in the company of ʿAbbās the Nubian to Abū Yaʿqūb Isʾḥāq b. Ibrāhīm. The packet contained thirty heavy pieces, and four bars of gold whose total value was sixty *dīnārs*. The letter advises the receiver to check the seals and informs him that a certain Abū Rabīʿ had also sent a packet with the same messenger. It also asks if the receiver wanted another consignment.[100] These traces are probably the work of individuals.[101] However, it seems that each mining enterprise was composed of a group of merchants who employed their own *Sūdānī* slaves in the actual digging and mining. Although the majority of the miners were *Sūdānī* slaves, some Beja were also recruited for the same work. There is a reference to a state owned emerald mine, the produce of which was sent to the treasury. The Beja labourers at this mine were searched thoroughly on leaving the mine,[102] a procedure which would seem to have been applied at other mines as well.

The emerald mines between Qūṣ and Aswān fell into disuse as early as 487/1094 because of attacks from the Beja, Nubians, and the Arab tribes who lived in the desert.[103] By the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century all were in a state of decay. An emerald mine near Aswān was closed down by order of a vizir of Sultan Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Qalāʾūn in 750/1350;[104] no reason was mentioned for its closure. However, Abūʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī, the deputy of the Ḥadāriba chief at ʿAydhāb, stated in the year 711/1311 two reasons for abandoning the mines in the Beja country: the first was the fear of attacks from the numerous Arab nomads of that country; the second was that, when a member of the Banūʾl Kanz was asked by the sultan to work the mines, he found that the cost was much higher than the reward and thus stopped mining. For this reason the mines fell into disuse and the wind soon covered them with sand. Naturally those who worked the mines went away.[105]

The influx of Arab tribesmen into the land of the mines had constituted an important step in the Arabization and Islamization of that region. The Rabī'a tribesmen who were alienated by al-'Umarī allied themselves to the Beja. This alliance was approved of by the Beja wise men or soothsayers who saw in it an opportunity to strengthen themselves against their old enemy, the Nubians, whose land they used to raid. This alliance was cemented by the marriage of the Rabī'a into the Beja tribes; and in time the Rabī'a benefited from the matrilineal system of succession, which was prevalent throughout the Sudan, and their children became the chiefs of the Beja tribes in the north. This undoubtedly helped to increase the power and prestige of the Rabī'a against their other neighbours and rivals from the Qaḥṭān and the Muḍar.[106]

By 332/943–4 the Rabī'a extended their influence over the country of the mines between Wādī al-'Allāqī and 'Aydhāb and forced other clans from the Muḍar and the Yaman to become their allies. Al-Mas'ūdī describes the chief of the Rabī'a, Bishr b. Marwān b. Is'ḥāq as *Ẓāḥib al-Ma'dan* or the owner of the mines, commanding a force of 3,000 warriors from the tribes of Rabī'a, Muḍar, and Yaman, and 30,000 camelmen from the Ḥadāriba.[107] The ratio between these figures is of course more important than the numbers themselves.[108] In the time of al-Mas'ūdī (d. 346/957) the Ḥadāriba were probably the only Muslims among the Beja, and this may be due to their closer contacts with the Rabī'a.[109] Indeed the two Ḥadāriba chiefs 'Abdak and Kuwk were the maternal uncles of the children of the Rabī'a chief Abū Bakr Is'ḥāq b. Bishr and Abū'l-Qāsim Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Bishr respectively.[110]

The Rabī'a succeeded also in establishing the important Arab principality of Banū'l-Kanz in the neighbourhood of Aswān. In the early decades of the fourth/tenth century a branch of the Rabī'a settled in the desert of Upper Egypt. Their chief Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, known

as Abū Yazīd b. Bishr,[111] lived at the Rabī'a camp of al-Muḥdatha,[112] opposite Aswān. He was a contemporary of his cousin Is'ḥāq b. Bishr the owner of the mines. In a family broil Is'ḥāq was killed and was succeeded by his cousin Abū Yazīd b. Bishr. The unity of the two branches had enhanced the Rabī'a's prestige and influence. In 397/1006 Abū'l-Makārim Hibat Allāh, Abū Yazīd b. Bishr's son and successor, helped the Fatimids to capture the Umayyad pretender Abū Rakwa al-Walīd b. Hishām. Abū Rakwa succeeded, with the help of the Banū Qurra Arabs and the Kitāma Berbers, in defeating the Fatimid forces first near Barqa and then in Egypt itself; he also raided Upper Egypt. Only after strenuous efforts were the Fatimids victorious. On his defeat Abū Rakwa retreated to Nubia, with whose king, it was alleged, he was friendly. However, the Lord of the Mountain did not allow him to proceed further until the king's permission was sought. Meanwhile an emissary of the Fatimid general, al-Faḍl, arrived and Abū Rakwa was handed over to him.[113] Ibn al-Athīr, the main source for the rebellion of Abū Rakwa, did not mention the name of the emissary. However, al-Maqrīzī states that Abū'l Markārim Hibat Allāh captured him, probably by order of al-Faḍl and sent him to Cairo where he was executed. Al-Ḥākim was delighted with the deed and bestowed on Abū'l Makārim Hibat Allāh the title of Kanz al-Dawla, which was inherited by his successors.[114]

This was indeed official recognition of the services of the Arab principality which had already established its authority over the land of the mines. By means of inter-marriage Banū'l-Kanz extended their influence to the northern parts of al-Marīs, thus becoming a local force of some importance.

The penetration of the Arabs into the Beja country was not restricted to the mining centres; there is evidence that they went even further south at this early date. In

1932 the remains of a large village were found at Khŏr Nubt,[115] a tributary of Khōr Agwampt—about seventy miles north-west of Haiyā[116] and approximately at *longitude* 36° 12′ and *latitude* 19° 00′. Although the site has yet to be excavated systematically, the general description of the men who discovered it is valuable. Traces of a stone wall were found surrounding the village, some curious red brick buildings, about one hundred houses and an equal number at the village Omek—three miles east-north-east.[117] Also found were beads, glass, and pottery similar to that found at 'Aydhāb; but the most important discovery was a hundred tombstones with Arabic inscriptions. These inscriptions were engraved in yellowish stones except for one inscribed in a black stone, probably obtained from the adjacent hills.[118] Eight of these tombstones are in the Khartoum Museum under numbers 2765-72. They contain names, dates, and Quranic excerpts.

In an article published in 1938 Ugo Monneret de Villard states that the Khōr Nubt tombstones represent the earliest evidence of Muslim Arab settlement in the Sudan. He dated the five inscriptions he read between 147–377/764–967–8.[119] However, some of his readings were rejected by Wiet in 1952[120] and Glidden in 1954.[121] With the exception of inscription No. 2771 their readings were almost identical. Wiet deciphered eight inscriptions which ranged from 200–210/815–825 to 329/941. The oldest tombstone had no date but by comparing its text, method, and character of writing with current usage Wiet was able to deduce that it belongs to the end of the second century of the Muslim era and dated it between 200–210/815–825.[122] Far more important was the reading of inscription No. 2771 which Glidden reads as 247 or 249 A.H., an alternative warranted by the slight difference in rendering seven or nine in Arabic.[123] Wiet put this as 249/864, a hundred years later than the reading of

Monneret de Villard.[124] Indeed it was only in the early decades of the third/ninth century that the Arabs began to set foot in the Sudan in large numbers. The final date in this series of inscriptions is 329/941 according to the readings of Wiet and Glidden.

Though few in number these inscriptions provide some useful information:

inscription no.	*name*	*year of death*
2768	Aksūm b. Ya'lūm	200–10/815–25
2771	a woman	247 or 249/ 861 or 863
2766	Ḥasan b. 'Īsā	253/867
2769	a woman	264/878
2767	Sarī' b. 'Abdallāh b. Rayḥan b. Muḥā	277/890
2765	'Ā'isha bint 'Īsā al-Rīfī	315/927
2270	a woman	329/941[125]

The fact that a high proportion of these tombstones belong to women (one to two) and that they cover practically the whole period indicates that it was a permanent settlement. Secondly, of the four names preserved, the first belongs to an Abyssinian Aksūm b. Ya'lūm. The other three are Arabic names of which 'Ā'īsha bint 'Isā al-Rīfī has undoubtedly an Egyptian connection.[126] For the other two names it is difficult to suggest any certain origin.

The Khōr Nubt village is probably the earliest Arab settlement among the Beja and had a life of at least one hundred years.[127] It is difficult to guess what those Arabs were doing at this isolated spot: the site had neither old gold workings nor strategic value.[128] However, its proximity to the trade route which connected Shunqayr with Sawākin, Bāḍī' and Dahlak may suggest that it was a market place of considerable importance.[129]

Besides gold, the Beja country produced large numbers of camels which were (and still are[130]) reputed for good

quality and fine breed. Nāṣir-ī Khusraw intimated that the finest camels were only found in the region of 'Aydhāb from whence they were exported to Egypt.[131] Describing the village of Bukhta in the Beja country from which the Bukhtiyya camels were procured, al-Idrīsī states that it was a crowded village with a large market. Around it were people whose main livelihood derived from rearing these camels. Their camels were well known in Egypt for their beauty, endurance, and speed. "These qualities", says al-Idrīsī, "are unsurpassed throughout the world."[132] One may be tempted to suspect that Bukhta is the village discovered at *Khōr* Nubt.[133]

Indeed the extensive use of camels in conveying pilgrims and goods between the Nile and the Red Sea ports, and in carrying provisions to the mining centres, stimulated a great demand for the animals. One may assume that the market of Bukhta met this need and developed into a prosperous, settled community in which the Beja supplied the Arab traders with camels. This in turn led to close co-operation between the two peoples and created a measure of peace and understanding which facilitated the spread of Islam and Arab movements.

3. *The pilgrim caravans and international trade routes*

Since the dawn of history the Red Sea has been an international highway of trade. Ports have flourished there, particularly on its western coast. The "Sudanese"[134] ports were, curiously enough, not dominated by the Beja but by foreigners whose interests were connected with the sea, rather than the adjoining land: the Beja with their simple economy had not much to exchange with foreigners. Traders, therefore, had to acquire African products from a wide hinterland beyond the Beja country. This is perhaps an oversimplification of a very complex

process. The three ports of Bāḍī, ʿAydhāb, and Sawākin, that witnessed an intensive Arab economic penetration, each had a different history. All three were probably known to the Egyptians in ancient and Ptolemic times as well as to the south Arabians and were later developed by the Muslims during their control of the Red Sea.[135]

The Arab conquests were followed by an expansion of trade. Arab merchants, with their native aptitude for trade, and with the support of their governments, established trading centres on the western coast of the Red Sea. This movement, in its early stages, was neither controlled nor directed by the state: it was in effect a free movement of merchants some of whom inherited a pre-Islamic tradition of trading in those parts. However, as has already been mentioned, the Muslim government interfered to put an end to the Abyssinian pirates who infested the Red Sea and endangered the safety of Muslim ships. For this reason the Umayyads occupied the strategic islands of Dahlak in 83/702, although there is no proof of a continuous control by the central government. The fact that the early caliphs had used this archipelago as a penal colony also shows that the Muslims were interested in the western coast of the Red Sea.[136]

Bāḍiʿ. Bāḍiʿ, the first Arab port to be established in the Sudan, was developed by Muslim merchants and was probably at no time subject to the control of the successive Muslim states. Unfortunately not much is known of its history. The earliest reference to Bāḍiʿ occurs in al-Ṭabarī's annals: a Muslim migrated there in the year 16/637.[137] It was again mentioned in the treaty of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb with the Beja[138] and was named as the port from which ʿAbdallāh b. Marwān crossed the Red Sea in 132/750.[139] Reference to it also occurs in the accounts of al-Yaʿqūbī,[140] al-Hamdānī,[141] and Yāqūt.[142] From those scattered references it seems to have flour-

ished between 16/637 and *c.* 500/1100. Then, like other "Sudanese" ports, it fell into decay and is heard of no more.

In 1911 the ruins on the island of al-Rīḥ, just off the coast (Long. 38° 27′ and Lat. 18° 9′) about fifteen miles south of ʿAqīq or Ptolemais Theron, were identified as Bāḍiʿ by Crowfoot.[143] He discovered the remains of houses, traces of streets, potsherds, glass, one hundred cisterns in good condition and several Arabic tombstones, four of which were taken to the museum in Khartoum. The four inscriptions were of: al-Walīd b. Aḥmad b. Ibbān, d. 387/997; Muḥammad b. Maymūn b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd, d. 405/1015; Kaʿb b. Khalīfa b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qaysī, d. 427/1035; and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd b. al-Faḍl al-Ḥawfī which Combe[144] dates approximately between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.H. All these names with the exception of the last would suggest that the subjects of the inscriptions migrated directly from Arabia.[145]

Arab merchants seem to have used Bāḍiʿ as a trading centre for a wide hinterland. The inhabitants of Bāḍiʿ were engaged in exchanging combs and perfumes for Abyssinian ivory tusks, ostrich eggs, and other products.[146] Some Arab traders were able to penetrate as far as Baqlīn, the capital of the Zanāfij Beja. This region had a Muslim Arabic-speaking chief whose country was frequented by many Muslim traders from Mecca and elsewhere.[147] Bāḍiʿ was also connected with the Nile valley;[148] indeed, according to one authority it was one of the "Sudanese" ports through which gold was obtainable[149]—probably from the mines of al-Shanka. Therefore, it is plausible to suggest that, before the rise of ʿAydhāb and Sawākin, Bāḍiʿ enjoyed an advantageous position as the gateway through which Arab traders entered the Sudan.

The factors that led to the decline of Bāḍiʿ are not clear. It seems that this port was not ideally situated for such a

vast hinterland: it looked more towards the southern Beja country and Abyssinia rather than al-Muqurra and 'Alwa. Dahlak was a better gateway for the southern part of the western coast of the Red Sea. The commercial role of Bāḍi' had been local and never became fully integrated into the expanding international trade. In time the new ports of 'Aydhāb, Sawākin, and Dahlak deprived Bāḍi' of the more active business elements and overshadowed it. Hebbert has suggested that the infestation of its water supplies by mosquitoes may have hastened its downfall.[150] Certainly, in the year 565/1170 the ship of the poet Ibn al-Qalāqis al-Iskandarī sank near Dahlak off *Jaẓīrat al-Nāmūs* or the island of mosquitoes.[151] The poet found this island in utter ruin and describes in verse a scene which closely resembles Bāḍi'.[152]

'*Aydhāb*. Like Bāḍi', 'Aydhāb rose from being an obscure anchorage, but unlike it, developed into an international port of great importance. Nothing but ruins now remains of the Arab port which lay (Lat. 22° 19′ 47″, Long. 36° 09′ 32″) twelve miles north of the village of Ḥalāyib.[153] Its name sank into oblivion and its site was known in local tradition by the name of its successor as *Sawākin Qadīm* or Old Sawākin.[154] 'Aydhāb began as a harbour serving the needs of the miners of the eastern desert, then became a pilgrim port, and reached its zenith as a terminus for ships from India, East Africa, and southern Arabia. In other words, the prosperity of 'Aydhāb was due mainly to the traffic that flowed between Egypt and the East rather than to its position as a port for the Sudan hinterland.

The early history of 'Aydhāb is connected with the mining activity and the supremacy of the Rabī'a tribe over that region. In the fourth decade of the third century A.H. (*c.* A.D. 845), the Banū Yūnis, a branch of the Rabī'a, were believed to have occupied 'Aydhāb, but were com-

pelled to retreat to the Hijaz after a quarrel with their cousins the Banū Bishr.[155] The latter had lately consolidated their control over the mines by intermarrying with the Beja, particularly the Ḥadāriba. In the third/ninth century 'Aydhāb may appropriately be called the port of the mines: ships called from al-Qulzum[156] laden with provisions for the mines and merchants came from the Yemen to buy gold.[157] Mention of ivory as one of its exports suggests that it had links with the interior as well. Even at that time links with Egypt were not lacking: al-Ya'qūbī tells us that 'Aydhāb was used by some Egyptian pilgrims on their way to the Hijaz.[158] Pilgrims were soon followed by merchants. The reasons for this are to be sought in the strategic position of 'Aydhāb, local developments in Egypt, and external factors.

Since ancient times two major routes for trade between the Mediterranean countries and the East existed; one passed through Egypt and the Red Sea; the other was through the Persian Gulf and the Fertile Crescent.[159] The prolonged Byzantine-Persian wars of the sixth century A.D. led to the abandonment of the latter route and the deflection of trade to Constantinople via Central Asia or western Arabia. The main beneficiaries from this shift of trade to western Arabia were the Meccan merchants who gained much experience that was invaluable for exploitation of the vast commercial opportunities resulting from the Arab conquests. With the rise of the 'Abbasid Empire (132–656/750–1258), trade was already flowing through Basra, Ubulla, and Sīrāf on the Persian Gulf. The establishment of Baghdad which soon became the financial centre and the commercial capital of the Muslim world signifies that fact. Needless to say, trade was not carried on solely by Arabs or Muslims but also by their subjects: Christians and Jews were increasingly taking a leading share.[160]

Egypt, which had been reduced to the status of a mere

province after the Arab conquest, was left with very little share of this trade. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, the first semi-independent ruler of Egypt, seems to have tried to gain more of that trade, without much success. The Tulunid idea was, however, sponsored by the new masters of Egypt—the Fatimids. In their struggle to subdue their Sunnī rivals—the 'Abbasid caliphs—the Shi'ite Fatimids (358–567/969–1171) used every conceivable weapon: diplomacy, war, religious propaganda, and trade. Trade was used to weaken their enemies and to boost the Egyptian economy. With this militant economic drive the Fatimids entered into close commercial relations with the East and the West. In the East they deflected the Indian trade from the Persian gulf. The Fatimid attempts were greatly facilitated by their close contacts with the Yemen, which allowed them to draw on its vast experience in naval links with the East. They also extended their control over several Red Sea ports including 'Aydhāb.[161] Once the Eastern trade was deflected to the Red Sea, it remained the principal route until the sources of the Indian trade were captured by the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century.

At the time of the Fatimid conquest in 358/969 the Egyptian port of al-Qůlzum had the major function of exporting grain to the Holy Cities.[162] However, it was subsequently called upon to import Indian products from Aden. This meant that the ships had to sail for a long time in a very dangerous sea that was unnavigable by night: the prevailing winds and the numerous coral reefs made navigation a very hazardous affair.[163] If these dangers could be avoided it would save time and money.

In the growing port of 'Aydhāb a solution was found. The distance from Aden was reduced by nearly one-third and most of the hazardous part of the Red Sea was avoided Moreover, 'Aydhāb was strategically situated in a deep harbour[164] free from coral islands and almost

opposite Jedda. It was linked by caravan routes to Upper Egypt—about eighteen days to Qūṣ[165] and fifteen to Aswān,[166] whence goods were carried by river transport. Although the safety of these caravan routes was, in theory, guaranteed by the Muslim treaties with the Beja, the Fatimids extended their control over 'Aydhāb itself.

Until then the majority of the pilgrims who came from the Maghrib and Egypt used the eastern pilgrim route by way of the Sinai desert. But the prolonged years of hardship and famine that began in 459/1066–7, in the reign of the caliph al-Mustanṣir, brought Lower Egypt to the verge of ruin and led to the neglect of that route. This neglect furthered by the advent of the Crusaders and the emergence of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem which threatened the safety of the pilgrims. Thereafter, for more than two centuries (460–666/1067–1268), the pilgrims travelled through 'Aydhāb.[167]

The earliest eye-witness account we possess of 'Aydhāb was written by the Persian traveller Nāṣir-ī Khusraw in the year 442/1050. Nāṣir left Aswān on 5 Rabī'/29 July of the same year riding on a camel which he hired for a *dīnār* and a half. The journey lasted about fourteen days in an inhospitable desert; there was hardly any water except at a few scattered wells. The Beja, whose country the route crossed, were harmless and busy tending their cattle. 'Aydhāb, he related, was a town of 500 inhabitants and had a Friday mosque. Sweet water was not plentiful and the port depended on rains; if these failed the Beja would bring them water, presumably from wells or springs in the mountains. The port belonged to the Fatimid caliph, whose representatives levied taxes on imports from the Yemen, Abyssinia, and Zanzibar. Goods were then carried by camels to Aswān.[168]

Towards the end of the sixth/twelfth century 'Aydhāb became one of the busiest ports in the Muslim world. The best description of that period was left by the Andalusian

traveller Ibn Jubayr who visited it in 579/1183.[169] He started his journey from Qūṣ in the company of the Arab camelmen. The caravans normally stopped at specified stations for rest and watering. After a week's journey Ibn Jubayr's caravan stopped at Dunqāsh, which was frequented by innumerable parties of travellers and herds of camels. He tried to count the number of incoming and outgoing caravans but, owing to the heavy traffic, found this impossible. He noticed that the loads of exhausted camels were left behind on the road, unattended, and saw such prodigious quantities of pepper and cloves lying in the desert that he thought spices were as cheap as the earth on which they were lying. It was a pleasant surprise for him to find out that these loads would remain there in safety until their owners could come and collect them, despite the numerous people who traversed the desert.[170]

Merchandise and travellers were carried by camels which were well suited for these strenuous journeys. The majority of the travellers rode on the backs of camels that were already loaded with goods, and experienced some discomfort. The wealthy travellers hired a pair of camels with a litter stretched between the two animals; this gave a particularly smooth and comfortable ride during which the two passengers could read or entertain themselves with a game of chess. Qn Ibn Jubayr's journey the camelmen were Yemenites from the tribe of Baliyy who owned the camels and acted as *ḍummān*, or guarantors, of the goods and the people they carried.[171] From Ibn Jubayr's description of these numerous caravans it would seem that the number of Arabs engaged in this activity must have been considerable. Although there is no mention of the participation of the Beja in this traffic, this would have been by no means impossible: at the very least, it seems likely that, when a returning boat failed to anchor at 'Aydhāb because of bad weather, the

pilgrims would hire Bejāwī camels and guides to take them to 'Aydhāb.[172]

After twenty days journey Ibn Jubayr arrived at 'Aydhāb, which was busy with traffic: boats discharging Indian goods and dhows carrying pilgrims. Almost every prosperous 'Aydhābī owned a boat or two for the pilgrim trade; others were actively engaged in pearl-fishing and harvesting the sea produce in the neighbouring coasts and islands. Ships were built locally to suit the Red Sea waters, although building materials were imported from the Yemen and India. Ibn Jubayr states that 'Aydhāb was unwalled and the majority of its houses were huts,[173] except for a few limestone buildings.[174] The fact that most of the town buildings were merely huts may be explained partly by the lack of good building material in the vicinity and partly because the majority of the inhabitants were nomads whose livelihood depended on carrying goods and supplying labour. The huts were also a convenient temporary accommodation for pilgrims in transit. The foreign traders were obviously not interested in building permanent edifices.

Nearly everything was imported to 'Aydhāb including food and water; indeed, the pilgrims were obliged to bring provisions as part of the duty they paid to the local authorities. Ibn Jubayr complained bitterly of the maltreatment and hardship that the pilgrims suffered at the hands of the 'Aydhābīs.[175] In short, the prosperity of 'Aydhāb depended on two things: the Eastern trade and the Pilgrim traffic. The Indian and Chinese goods were discharged first at Aden and then transhipped by the Red Sea dhows[176] to 'Aydhāb whence they were carried to a town in Upper Egypt. The Indian goods were paid for partly in gold but mostly with north African and Egyptian products such as silk, lead, copper, and chemicals;[177] these goods would follow the same route back to 'Aydhāb. The Indian trade, and particularly the spice trade, was

associated with the Kārimī[178] merchants, a group of traders engaged in importing Indian merchandise into Egypt. They had agents in ʿAydhāb, Yemen, and India, and sometimes sent their own slaves or partners on business.[179]

The result of all this activity was the ascendancy of ʿAydhāb, which stood as a focal point in the flow of East and West trade. The two Fatimid aims were thus achieved: firstly, the deflection of the eastern trade from al-Basra and Ubulla reduced the ʿAbbasid Empire to the verge of economic decline, which was accentuated by other factors;[180] secondly, the eastern trade became a major source of revenue to the Fatimid treasury. Customs duties on the eastern trade were levied mainly at ʿAydhāb and to a lesser extent at al-Quṣayr, Suez, and al-Ṭūr.[181] There is no reference in the sources to the exact amount of revenue which the Fatimids or their successors collected at ʿAydhāb. The size of trade and efforts made to protect it indicate that the revenue must have been considerable. The Fatimids constructed a special fleet of five ships (later reduced to three) to protect the Kārimī merchants from pirates in the Red Sea.[182] The Fatimid measures were not always effective: in 512/1118 the ruler of Mecca, Muḥammad Abū Hāshim, dispatched a military fleet which attacked and sacked ʿAydhāb, plundered the merchandise, and killed some of the merchants. The incident was reported to the vizir al-Afḍal al-Jamālī, who retaliated by forbidding pilgrims to go to Mecca, cancelling the dispatch of provisions to the Hijaz and preparing a fleet against the aggressors. The ruler of Mecca realizing his folly, apologized and promised to return all that he had taken.[183]

In 578/1183,[184] during the wars between the Ayyubids and the crusaders, ʿAydhāb was sacked. Renauld de Châtillon, the Lord of Kerak, constructed his ships in the Mediterranean and carried them in parts by camels to the

Red Sea; his goal was the Holy Cities but the richness of ʿAydhāb attracted him. His fleet burned some sixteen ships, captured two others coming from Yemen, burned all the provisions awaiting shipment to the Holy Cities, confiscated a rich caravan coming from Qūṣ, plundered ʿAydhāb and killed everyone they could lay hands on. The crusaders were finally put to flight by an army, sent from Egypt, and this ended their raids in the region.[185]

ʿAydhāb was under dual control: the rulers of Egypt sent a *wālī* or governor on their behalf, who shared the revenue with a local Beja chief.[186]. The apportioning of this is referred to only by two travellers and a geographer whose accounts may give an idea of its value. In al-Idrīsī's time (d. *c.* 560/1165) the revenue was divided equally between the two.[187] During Ibn Jubayr's visit in 579/1183 most of the revenue was retained by the Beja chief who lived in the neighbouring hills and visited ʿAydhāb from time to time to meet the Turkish[188] *wālī*.[189] During Ibn Baṭṭuṭa's visit two-thirds of the revenue went to the Beja chief known as al-Ḥadrabī and one-third to the Mamluk sultan.[190] The general impression is that the Beja fared better. Before the Ayyubid regime the local authorities at ʿAydhāb collected the pilgrim dues—seven *dīnārs* from each person—on behalf of the rulers of Mecca and Medina;[191] we do not know what share they recouped from these collections. However, in 572/1177 Ṣalāḥ al-Đīn al-Ayyūbī cancelled these illegal dues and compensated the rulers of the Holy Cities.[192] Most of the goods coming through the Nile to ʿAydhāb were already taxed before reaching there: therefore, the only remaining source of revenue would be the eastern goods —the proceeds of which must have been considerable. On what grounds was the Beja chief entitled to such a share of revenue? The sources are not instructive on this point: according to one, the Egyptians were responsible for supplying ʿAydhāb with a "source of income", while

the Beja chiefs had to protect it from the Beja tribes.[193]

The word Beja is applied by Arabic writers to include the Ḥadāriba whom Ibn Sulaym says were the only Muslims among the Beja.[194] They were perhaps the Beja whom Ibn Jubayr encountered at 'Aydhāb and described as being nominal Muslims who knew nothing of religion except to utter the *Shahāda*,[195] that is, the act of faith. In 711/1311–2 the so-called Beja chief was surnamed al-Ḥadrabī, whose deputy was responsible for 'Aydhāb and the gold mines.[196] In 725/1325 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa quite explicitly states that the Beja chief was called al-Ḥadrabī.[197] The Ḥadāriba were probably the ruling family whom we have already encountered as the chiefs of the Beja in the fourth/tenth century and with whom the Rabī'a tribesmen had intermarried extensively.[198] Indeed, in describing 'Aydhāb, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 742/1342) noted that it lay on the verge of the Ḥadāriba country.[199] It would seem most likely that the Ḥadāriba had a wide sphere of influence which might have included the desert, over which the caravans crossed, as far as the Nile. They were, therefore, familiar with the country and with the inhabitants—the Beja, Arabized Beja, or Arabs—and were in a better position to protect 'Aydhāb and its caravans. It was the security of these caravans that induced the rulers of Egypt to adopt this dual system of administration, and by sharing the revenue with the Ḥadāriba they gave them a valid interest in maintaining it. Clashes between the two over the share of revenue were by no means infrequent.[200]

When the Mamluks succeeded the Ayyubids as masters of Egypt they strove to maintain the flow of the Eastern Trade. At first Sultan Baybars (658–76/1200–77) ruthlessly suppressed the insubordinate Arab tribes of Upper Egypt who had been harrying the trade routes.[201] Even outside his own domains, Baybars intervened to safeguard the interests of this trade. In 662/1263 it was re-

ported to him that the Muslim rulers of Sawākin and Dahlak were in the habit of appropriating the wealth of merchants who perished at sea, while passing by. Baybars sent an envoy, Badr al-Dīn b. al-Dāya, who made what amounted to a diplomatic representation to the rulers of Dahlak and Sawākin.[202] But the ruler of Sawākin, 'Alā' al-Dīn Asba'ānī, whose reaction will be discussed later, did not pay much attention to Mamluk threats. He was probably encouraged by the preoccupation of Baybars with the remaining stronghold of the crusaders in Syria and felt secure by virtue of the distance that separated them. However, in 663/1267–8, Sawākin was conquered by a Mamluk force and the port was put loosely under Mamluk suzerainty.[203] To create maximum security Baybars also set up the *Barīd* or postal-intelligence from Cairo to Qūṣ, Aswān, Nubia, and from Qūṣ to 'Aydhāb and Sawākin. The posts were maintained probably until 742/1342, after which they fell into disuse;[204] yet, new factors gradually led to the abandonment of the 'Aydhāb route.

Baybars gave his regime a measure of legality by inviting a member of the dethroned 'Abbasid dynasty to take up residence and office as a caliph in Cairo. In order to establish himself as the first ruler of Islam he decided to strengthen Egyptian control over the Hijaz to become the servitor of the two Muslim sanctuaries. By a fortunate coincidence the Sinai pilgrim route became secure after the expulsion of the crusaders. In 665/1267–8 Baybars inaugurated the return of the pilgrim traffic to that route when he dispatched the first caravan and decorated the Ka'ba with coverings. This step, according to al-Maqrīzī, led to a reduction of the number of pilgrims who frequented the 'Aydhāb route.[205] However, this route continued to thrive and it seems from scattered references that it was preferred by the Maghāriba,[206] who were using it as late as 749/1348.[207]

For more than a century after the decline of the pilgrim traffic on the 'Aydhāb route had commenced, the flow of the Eastern Trade was maintained, but the safety of the route was less assured. In 671/1271–2 'Aydhāb was raided by Nubian troops, who killed the governor and the judge and returned with rich booty.[208] The motives for this attack are not clear; it has been suggested that the Nubians felt themselves cut off from the rest of the world when the Mamluks extended their control as far as Sawākin.[209] It was partly as an attempt to check the recurrence of such a move that Baybars carried out a major campaign against Nubia in 675/1267.[210] Quarrels among the Arab tribes who had peopled the eastern desert was another threat to trade. Fighting broke out in 680/1281 between the Arab tribes of Juhayna and Rifā'a in the 'Aydhāb desert. To avoid further trouble the sultan asked the ruler of Sawākin to settle the matter without taking sides.[211]

The trade route was once more endangered when trouble flared up again. In 715/1315 the Arab nomads of the desert of 'Aydhāb who might have included Arabized Beja[212] attacked a caravan carrying an envoy of the ruler of Yemen with valuable presents to the Mamluk sultan.[213] The nomads took away the presents and other merchandise. They had resorted to brigandage in protest against the detention of their chief Fayyād by the governor of Qūṣ, Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuqṣubā.[214] Their action was directed first and foremost against the Mamluk authorities, not against trade or the Arabs engaged in carrying the goods. It would, however, be difficult for these nomads to make this delicate distinction between the parties concerned. This was only one aspect of a deep-rooted problem that faced the Mamluk authorities. Without giving a detailed discussion of this complicated problem, it may be said that Upper Egypt was a hot-bed of Arab revolts against the Mamluk state. These repeated uprisings had undoubtedly

created an atmosphere of disorder which ultimately obstructed the flow of trade. The Mamluks for their part endeavoured to pacify the nomads. This duty devolved on the governor of Upper Egypt posted at Qūṣ. On this occasion he detained the Arab chief, and provoked a crisis.

In 716/1316 Sultan Muḥammad Qalā'ūn (709–41/1309–40)[215] ordered a punitive expedition to follow the brigands "wherever they are".[216] An army of 500 Mamluk cavalry led by fourteen officers moved to Qūṣ. Two of the commanding officers, Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuqṣubā and Ṣārim al-Dīn al-Jarmakī, met the insubordinate nomads and asked them to return the stolen goods. As would be expected the Arabs disdainfully refused. The Mamluks' attempt to settle this difficulty peacefully and their reluctance to take action for fifty-two days, was probably due to their fear of the vast desert and the lack of water. When the matter was referred to the sultan he ordered immediate action. In Muḥarram 717/March 1317 the army began the pursuit of the *'Urbān* or nomadic Arabs, who must have been well informed of the movements of the army. After fifteen days the army reached 'Aydhāb where they remained a few days. From there, they travelled in a wild hilly country and were suffering seriously from lack of water; for the nomads had destroyed the wells and concealed the springs. At Sawākin, the Mamluks were cordially welcomed by its ruler, who declared his submission to the Mamluk sultan. The army then pushed on south-westwards for more than two weeks, until they came across the river Atbara. After three days' journey upstream they entered the Tākā region. Three days later they found themselves at the bottom of Jabal Kasala.

While there, the Mamluk army encountered a people of the *Sūdān* named al-Ḥalanqa,[217] who had gathered in large numbers armed with swords, spears, and arrows. The Mamluks explained that they had no intention of engaging in battle and that they were only searching for the

insubordinate *'Urbān*; but the Ḥalanqa refused the offers of peace. Their determination to fight is surprising: were they infuriated by the presence of strangers in their land, or was it a desire to acquire booty? One is tempted to think that the fleeing *'Urbān* might have incited them to resist these intruders. The Ḥalanqa were, however, defeated by the professional Mamluk veterans, who killed four hundred and sixty of them; the rest retreated leaving their baggage behind. The Mamluks carried off what they could of their enemies' *dhurra* or millet, and began their journey back on 6 Rabī' I, 717/21 May 1317. When they arrived at the place where they had previously joined the Atbara they were discouraged from following the same route back to Sawākin as it had little water and pasture. Instead they marched down the Atbara and then continued their journey through Dunqula and Qūṣ and arrived at Cairo on Tuesday, 9 Jumāda II, 717/24 August 1317.[218]

The Mamluk expedition was a failure, yet it demonstrates very clearly two points of significance. Firstly, the trouble taken to pursue the fleeing Arabs shows to what extent the Mamluks valued the safety of these trade routes. Secondly, that an army of five hundred cavalry could wander in a country for about six months without facing any insurmountable difficulties, such as shortage of water, fodder, food, or organized resistance, is a strong indication that many Arab tribesmen could have entered through the eastern desert without causing hardship to themselves or inconvenience to the local population. Where had the Arabs gone who started all this trouble? We are never likely to have an answer to this question; yet there is no doubt that, as they had done before this incident, many more Arabs entered and remained in the Sudan, in subsequent years.

Two years later (719/1319) the Arabs of 'Aydhāb revolted once more and killed the *Wālī*. The sultan dis-

patched an army under al-Aqwash whom he instructed to administer 'Aydhāb and the adjoining lands.[219] The presence of a Mamluk garrison did not solve the difficulty automatically: indeed, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa came in 726/1326 he was not able to sail to Jedda because of a war between the Ḥadrabī and the Mamluk *Wāli*.[220]

Despite these disturbances trade continued to flow until about 760/1358 according to al-Maqrīzī,[221] or 780/1378 on the authority of al-Qalqashandī, when it almost ceased.[222] There is evidence to show that sherds of Celadon and blue-and-white porcelain found at the site of 'Aydhāb belonged to the Ming dynasty which commenced in A.D. 1368.[223]

The trade of 'Aydhāb also declined as a result of two other factors, the first being the decline of economic development in Upper Egypt, of which signs were already apparent. Since the year 774/1374 the region had been hit by a series of natural calamities, both droughts and famines, which led to a general economic depression. By 806/1403–4 the situation had deteriorated to a very low ebb. Fourteen thousand people were reported to have died at Qūṣ, the principal terminus of the trade caravans coming from 'Aydhāb, and a similar number at Asyūṭ.[224] Meanwhile this poverty-stricken region was subjected to crushing levies to meet the increasing expenditure imposed by the Timurid danger. These exactions weakened relations between the Arabs and the Mamluk authorities and adversely affected the safety of the trade routes. The prosperity of Qūṣ dwindled thereafter, and it is not surprising that many merchants came to prefer the port of Jedda to 'Aydhāb.

The rise of Jedda was the second factor which led to the decline of trade in 'Aydhāb. The rulers of Mecca who controlled the port of Jedda must have looked with envy at the great traffic that 'Aydhāb monopolized as a transit port. Their attack on 'Aydhāb in 512/1118 was perhaps

an attempt to deflect a portion of the Eastern trade to Jedda,[225] and they eventually achieved their aim by the efforts of Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān,[226] the *Sharīf* (ruler) of Mecca towards the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. However, a conflict between the Banū 'Ajlān and the Rasulid rulers of the Yemen over a Yemenite pilgrim caravan led the latter to discourage merchants of Indian goods from landing at Jedda and to disembark at Sawākin. The differences were soon patched up and the merchants proceeded once more to Jedda.[227] The future of Jedda became even brighter owing to fresh developments at Aden.

Aden had always been the terminus at which ships from the Far East discharged their wares. It is commonly believed that the ships of the Indian Ocean could not navigate the Red Sea. Nevertheless, the crushing duties and the maltreatment inflicted by the Rasulids made the merchants think of an alternative. In 825/1422 an Indian Muslim named Ibrāhīm sailed past Bāb al-Mandab and successfully navigated his ship in the Red Sea. He landed at Jedda, where affairs were still unsatisfactory owing to the misdemeanours of the Banū 'Ajlān, who had been very harsh in their treatment of pilgrims and who had confiscated the goods of the Kārimī merchants.[228] In the following year Ibrāhīm entered into an agreement with the rulers of Dahlak and Sawākin to discharge his goods at these places, but found the new arrangements far from adequate.[229]

For some time the Mamluks had been trying to establish effective control over the Hijaz. After a number of expeditions they succeeded in posting a Mamluk officer and stationing a garrison in Mecca. They also compelled the *Sharīf* to abdicate any right to collect taxes from merchants in the Indian Trade; moreover, a special Mamluk officer was posted to Jedda to supervise the collection of dues. Dissatisfied with his previous attempts,

Ibrāhīm, the Indian merchant, called in 827/1424 at Yanbu', the port of Medina, where he was encouraged to try his luck at Jedda once more.[230] There he was cordially received and in the following two years no less than fourteen and forty ships, respectively, disembarked their merchandise at Jedda, which soon attained a position of prominence in the Red Sea.[231]

Once Jedda had become the official transit port for eastern goods, rigorous measures were adopted to ensure that all merchandise was delivered there. Merchants were prohibited from calling at 'Aydhāb. However, despite threats, some of them discharged their goods at 'Aydhāb, which meant a loss of revenue to the Mamluk treasury. The Ḥadāriba could not have viewed the eclipse of their fortune with equanimity and probably encouraged ships to call at their port. It was in this mood of desperation that they attacked an Egyptian caravan destined for Mecca. In retaliation the Mamluk sultan, Barsbāy (825–42/1422–1438), who had been responsible for most of the fiscal arrangements that led to the preference of Jedda over 'Aydhāb, dealt the latter a shattering blow from which it never recovered. Contemporary sources are silent about this grave incident.[232] About 932/1526 Leo Africanus[233] recorded a tradition about the destruction of 'Aydhāb by Sultan Barsbāy which was apparently current gossip during his visit to Egypt. The tradition describes the end of 'Aydhāb as follows:[234]

> But an hundred yeeres since it was destroied by the Soldan, bicause the inhabitants receiued certaine wares which should haue beene carried to Mecca, and at the same time the famous port of Zibid ['Aydhāb][235] was destroied, from whence notwithstanding was gathered a great yeerely tribute. The inhabitants being chased from thence fleede vnto Dangala and Suachin, and at length being ouercome in battaile by the gouernor of Suachin, there were in

> one day slaine of them about fower thousand, and a thousand were carried captiue vnto Suachin, who were massacred by the women and children of the citie.[236]

From this account it seems highly probable that 'Aydhāb received a crippling blow at the hand of Barsbāy troops about 829/1426. Nevertheless, 'Aydhāb continued to exist for some time: as late as 897/1492 Rumaytha b. Barakāt, b. Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān, son of the *Sharīf* of Mecca, wanted, when in conflict with his family, to go to 'Aydhāb, but was unable to set sail.[237] It was also mentioned as a fief of a certain Mamluk Amīr, Yashbuk al-Dawadār in a dictionary of Egyptian towns written towards the end of the ninth/fifteenth century.[238] This would suggest that 'Aydhāb was still a place of some importance.

At last the long association of 'Aydhāb with Arab economic penetration came to an end. The decline of the three major activities—mining, pilgrim traffic, and Eastern trade—left many of the Arabs without work. The majority had no option but to drift to the interior. Some were probably attracted to Sawākin.

Sawākin. Sawākin is the third port through which Arab economic penetration entered the Sudan. The site itself was an old settlement,[239] but the name Sawākin is first heard of in Muslim times while Bāḍi' and 'Aydhāb were still flourishing. It is first mentioned by al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945–6) who reckoned it to be in *al-Ḥabasha al-Wūsṭā* or central Abyssinia and describes it as a place frequented by Arabs and near which gold is thought to be found.[240] A few decades later Ibn Sulaym referred to it as one of the Red Sea ports connected with the region of Shutnqayr.[241] It seems that Sawākin, like Bāḍi', was redeveloped by Muslims during the early centuries of Islam and might with Bāḍi' have served the large hinterland of the Sudan and part of Abyssinia.

The very name Sawākin (also pronounced Sūākin or Sūākim) may be of Arabic origin. Many suggestions have been offered in explanation, of which only two will be discussed here.[242] The first shows how traditions are both tenacious and transferable. Several times have I myself heard that Sawākin was used by Solomon as a prison for devils. The legend correlates the name Sawākin to the Arabic word *sijn* or prison and to the fanciful plural of *Swājin*. With a stretch of imagination one can follow this illogical explanation. The answer would appear to be very simple: the same tradition was related by Ibn Jubayr when he visited 'Aydhāb in 597/1183 which he described as having been used by the Prophet Sulaymān b. Dāwūd as a prison for demons,[243] and this tradition was transferred to Sawākin after the destruction of 'Aydhāb.

It has also been suggested that the name Sawākin is derived from the Arabic *sūq*, market, or *sakan*, to dwell in.[244] An authority on Tu-Bedawie states that the Beja have adopted the word *sūq* like many other Arabic words. "The Bedawiet name for Suakin is *U Suk* The market. This is the nominative case. The constructive or locative case is *isūkib*, . . ." However, in everyday usage the word *isūkib* becomes *iSo-okim* and from that the word Suakim or Suakin is derived. This may be taken as a point in evidence that Sawākin started as a market place in which Arab merchants exchanged commodities with the Beja.

After the disappearance of Bāḍi' Sawākin became an important centre for ships and commerce. In 519/1115 a certain person was sent from Aden to Egypt in a *Jalaba Sawākiniyya* or a Sawākinī ship.[245] Sawākin's advantageous position was a source of rivalry and intervention from Dahlak, Egypt, and the Hijaz. Dahlak and Sawākin were, of course, the beneficiaries of the disappearance of Bāḍi' and each was apparently trying to consolidate its commercial supremacy at the expense of the other. This

rivalry expressed itself in attempts to control the islands lying between the two ports and at times relations deteriorated into open warfare.[246]

By the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century Sawākin, though small, was frequented by Kārimī ships from which the local Muslim ruler collected customs dues. It is not clear from contemporary sources whether these ships only discharged cargoes or also loaded them. Ibn Sa'īd states that Sawākin was preferred by the Kārimī merchants owing to its anchorage, being safer than those ports of the eastern coast in the Hijaz and the Yemen.[247] However, this statement presupposes that the ships called at Sawākin without stopping at any other Yemenite port on their long voyage to the Further East. It may be suggested that they called for water and provisions. In 662/1263–4 Sultan Baybars accused the ruler of Sawākin al-Sharīf[248] 'Alm al-Dīn Asba'ānī of appropriating the goods of the deceased merchants who died at sea near Sawākin.[249] Bearing in mind the rigour with which the Mamluk authorities followed up this accusation, one may be inclined to the belief that there was a deeper cause for the Mamluk intervention. The appropriation of the goods of those who died at sea and the taxes levied from the Kārimī merchants might have allowed Sawākin to develop into a dangerous rival of 'Aydhāb which Mamluk efforts were until then bent on maintaining as a transit port.

As mentioned above 'Alm al-Dīn had neglected the Mamluk warning to remove the cause of accusation.[250] A year later (663/1264–5) Sawākin was attacked by the governor of Qūṣ and Ikhmīm 'Alā' al-Dīn who was accompanied by fifty ships from 'Aydhāb. After defeating Asba'ānī, who fled, the Mamluk general settled the affairs of Sawākin and entrusted the port to a Mamluk nominee who was apparently left with a Mamluk garrison. But no sooner had 'Alā' al-Dīn gone than Asba'ānī attacked Sawākin and was severely defeated. Sultan

Baybars, who was not seeking territorial gains, realized that a local chief might after all be better suited to safeguard the Egyptian interests at this remote place and therefore accepted Asba'ānī's request to rule Sawākin in his name.[251]

There was no further intervention in the affairs of Sawākin, whose ruler maintained peaceful relations with his overlord, the Sultan of Egypt. In 680/1281 al-Shārīf 'Alm al-Dīn was entrusted by Sultan Muḥammad Qalā'ūn to mediate between the Juhayna and the Rifā'a Arabs who had been at war and who had taken refuge near Sawākin.[252] Sawākin is again mentioned in 717/1317 when a Mamluk army passed through in pursuit of some Beduins. The ruler confirmed his loyalty and submission to the Mamluk sultan by offering to deliver annually eighty slaves, three hundred camels, and thirty *qīnṭārs*[253] of ivory. In return 'Alm al-Dīn was confirmed in his office as the sultan's deputy.[254] The three commodities paid as a tribute reveal that Sawākin was indeed an outlet for products of the Sudan. The first two items were undoubtedly obtained from the interior; the camels, the third item, were bred in the Beja country. It would seem that Sawākin was more favourably situated for commercial contacts with the kings of al-Muqurra and 'Alwa than either Bāḍi' or 'Aydhāb.

Sawākin developed close connections with the Hijaz. 'Alm al-Dīn Asba'ānī was just one name in a long chain of Arabs who had come over for trade and thus maintained the old commercial contacts with the western coast. Once their business flourished, some merchants settled and intermarried with local Beja. Like the Ḥadāriba they attained important positions through the matrilineal inheritance. In 732/1332 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the son of the Sharīf of Mecca reigning over Sawākin: Al-Sharīf Zayid Ibn Abī Numayy b. 'Ajlān inherited the "Sultanate" of Sawākin from his Bejāwī maternal uncles.[255] The

sultan had an army of Beja together with the Arabs of Banū Kāhil and Juhayna.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels in the Red Sea indicate that there were considerable contacts between Sawākin and Arabian ports. He sailed with a group of Yemenites from Jedda and was forced to land because of a storm at Rās Dawā'ir—north of Sawākin. He also mentions that Sawākin sent clarified butter and *dhurra* to Mecca.[256] On his way from Rās Dawā'ir to Sawākin Ibn Baṭṭūṭa encountered the Banū Kāhil Arabs, who, he states, intermarried with the Beja and spoke their language.[257] He does not mention the religion of the Beja living in that vicinity but his contemporary al-Nuwayrī writes that Sawākin was inhabited by the Khāsa who were Muslims.[258] All this would suggest a marked Arab penetration among the southern Beja.[259]

This conclusion is supported by the presence of Muslim *qubbas* or tombs[260] throughout this region and as far as Muḥammad Qōl[261] in the north and Mamān near Kasala. They may conveniently be divided into two groups. The first group is found near *Khōr* Gamarota about twenty miles inland from 'Aqīq and is called in Tu-Bedawie *Assarema Derheib* or seven buildings. There are actually ten but some of them are in ruins. These *qubbas*, although primitive in construction, are related to a common type of Muslim *qubba* and were built by Muslims acquainted with "medieval conventions, but obliged to fall back on local materials and labour".[262] Moreover they resemble the type of *qubba* to be found later in the Nile Valley, in the Sudan. The date of these qubbas is probably synchronous with the prosperity of Bāḍi' and Sawākin. The second group is at Jebel Mamān about sixty miles north of Kasala on the road to Sawākin. Similar buildings are also found between Mammān and Thamiam, on the railway line, and several others at the well of Adarmimish or the Red Tombs on the hills south of

Erkoweit.[263] Crowfoot has suggested that these *qubbas* may be connected with a later generation of Arabized Beja who had close contacts with the Arabs during their extensive use of the Aswān or Qūṣ-'Aydhāb route.[264] However, because of the vast distance that separates these *qubbas* from the 'Aydhāb route they may safely be connected with the ascendancy of Sawākin.

Sawākin continued to prosper and by the early decades of the ninth/fifteenth century its commercial opportunities seemed brighter than ever. Vexed with the exorbitant duties levied at Aden, the Indian merchants tried to use other ports: Dahlak, Sawākin, Yanbu', and Jedda. As related above the last emerged victorious owing to Mamluk support. The sack of 'Aydhāb did not change the situation radically in favour of Sawākin: Eastern trade continued to flow only towards Jedda. Fearing loss of revenue, the Mamluks discouraged merchants trading with India from disembarking at Sawākin as had been done previously at 'Aydhāb. To ensure the enforcement of this measure Sawākin remained under the Mamluk authority until the collapse of the Mamluk regime a century later. Sawākin, however, did not submit to Mamluk authority without challenge for, in 843/1439, a Mamluk army under al-Kāshif Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr captured the port.[265] Henceforth the Mamluk authority was maintained. Indeed in 854/1450 the *Qāḍī* of Sawākin reported in person to the sultan on a certain matter concerning Abyssinia,[266] and from about 894/1489 Sawākin was used as a place of exile for undesirable Mamluk elements. In the same year the eunuch Kashagam al-Aḥmadī al-Khāzin was deported there and remained until he died.[267] In 911/1505 al-Amīr Muḥsin al-Khāzin was sent there too.[268]

The sack of 'Aydhāb had affected Sawākin in another sense. Many of the inhabitants of 'Aydhāb whose livelihood depended on the commercial activities of the port

must have moved to Sawākin which offered similar prospects. It is highly improbable that they were massacred by the Sawākinīs as Leo Africanus has suggested.[269] Indeed, al-Qalqashandī reports, on the authority of an eye-witness, that the ruler of Sawākin was from the Arab tribe known as al-Ḥadāriba,[270] which we know had dominated the region of 'Aydhāb and had moved south, thus extending its influence over Sawākin long before Barsbāy destroyed 'Aydhāb. Therefore, when the catastrophe had befallen them at 'Aydhāb, one would have expected the people of 'Aydhāb to have been accepted by their relations at Sawākin if not enthusiastically welcomed. The new arrivals must have included merchants who tried to retain their commercial links both locally and abroad. Although there is no evidence of the degree of their success, they had at least maintained and developed relations with the Hijaz. Trade with the Hijaz depended largely on the Sawākin hinterland. It is in the local field that Sawākin ultimately rose to a position of importance which it retained unchallenged until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Some of the names of traders who visited Sawākin in the ninth/fifteenth century, as preserved in a biographical dictionary of the same century,[271] were of Meccan origin which suggests a close commercial link between Sawākin and the Hijaz. Many other traders certainly took part in this traffic but were not recorded. In general, commercial activities were not so important as to warrant a special place in contemporary records unless merchants had other qualifications—being men of religion, of noble descent, or very rich traders. A short account of these merchants may be of some use: a certain 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad (d. 827/1423), a *mu'adhdhin* or "prayer-caller" at Mecca, was in the habit of travelling to Sawākin to trade.[272] 'Awaḍ b. Mūsā al-Makkī (d. 846/1442), a respectable cultured spice merchant, left trading in spice

and took to travelling to the Yemen and Sawākin for trade.[273] 'Abd al-Latīf al-Makkī born in 857/1433 went to Sawākin as well as Yemen and India to trade;[274] Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-Makkī (d. 859/1455), who lived at Cairo and was reputed to be well versed in religion, went several times to the island of Sawākin to trade. He amassed a great fortune owing to the fact that he was exempted from custom duties at Jedda.[275] 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz used to trade between Mecca and Sawākin where he settled and brought up a family. He died there in 872/1467.[276] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī settled to trade in the region of Sawākin but unfortunately met with no success.[277]

The activities of these merchants were not restricted to Sawākin itself; some of them might have followed the caravan routes well inside the country.

The different aspects of Arab economic penetration show that it was more thorough than is generally recognized. It was an introductory stage in the process of Arabization of the Sudan. Each aspect had in its own field and by its extensive activities opened the country to increasing Arab influence and in turn stimulated Arab migration. This penetration was made more complete by the positive intervention of the Mamluk sultanate.

(4)

THE ARAB BREAKTHROUGH INTO AL-MUQURRA AND ALWA

c. 360–910/970–1504

In view of the lack of local records it is not possible to study the factors that led to the decline of Nubia except from the point of view of Egypt. The breakdown of the Nubian kingdom was in the first place due to developments and policies in Egypt and secondly to their effect on Nubia. The relations of the Fatimids, the Ayyubids, and the Mamluks with the Arabs in Upper Egypt and their policies towards Nubia led gradually towards the erosion of its strength. The Mamluk policy, as it was in its final form, aimed at the conversion of Nubia into a vassal kingdom. This design hastened the process of Islamization. The Arabs who entered in large numbers with the Mamluk armies intermarried with the royal family and assumed power. Finally by the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century the Nubian kingdom was not so much overthrown as turned inside out—the royal family became both Islamized and Arabized. The collapse of 'Alwa was mainly due to the gradual ascendancy of the Arab tribesmen, whose movements into the interior were stimulated by the exhaustion of the mines, and by the decline of the trade routes after the destruction of 'Aydhāb and the fall of al-Muqurra, which had for centuries hindered Arab migration through the Nile Valley.

1. *Fatimid policy towards Nubia*

The good relations that prevailed between Egypt and Nubia during the Tulunid, Ikhshidid, and Fatimid periods were due almost entirely to the regular delivery of the *Baqṭ* and the need of these regimes for large numbers of black slaves. This pattern of relations was disturbed on a few occasions, mainly as a result of Nubian aggression. The Nubians launched three attacks on Egypt during the last three decades of the Ikhshidid regime (323–358/935–69), which was showing signs of weakness on account of the repeated attacks of the Fatimids and the Carmathians, and the famines resulting from low Nile floods.[1] They were perhaps incited to do so by the Fatimids, since their incursions would distract the Ikhshidids from concentrating their efforts on the western front against which the Fatimid offensive was to be launched. In 339/951 the Nubian king attacked the Khārja Oasis and returned with a number of captives after killing many people.[2] Five years later he raided Aswān and killed a number of Muslims. In retaliation, an Egyptian army led by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Khāzin drove back the Nubians as far as Ibrīm which was captured in 345/957.[3] The Muslims returned with a great number of captives. This defeat did not put an end to the Nubian threat, which was again renewed in 349/960 when they marched down to Ikhmīm.[4] In the few remaining years before Egypt was conquered by the Fatimids, nothing was heard of Nubia.

The Fatimid general, Jawhar, lost no time in opening up new contacts with Nubia. He sent 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Sulaym al-Aswānī, a Fatimid propagandist, with a letter to King George of Nubia demanding the *Baqṭ*, which had lately been withheld, and requiring him to embrace Islam.[5] The first demand was granted and the

delivery of the *Baqṭ* was soon resumed. The second request caused consternation at the Nubian court and the king invited his bishops and learned men to debate with the Fatimid emissary. After a lengthy discussion in which both sides argued in favour of their belief, the debate was brought to an end. In answer, the bishops asked Jawhar to profess the Christian faith. King George, however, sent his respects to the Fatimid caliph and adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Muslims in his domains. Ibn Sulaym recounts that his presence there coincided with *'Id al-Aḍḥā*. He went to the outskirts of the city with some sixty Muslims in order to say the special prayer for that occasion. There, they displayed two flags, on which the name of the caliph al-Mu'izz was embroidered. A drum was beaten and a trumpet was sounded, celebrating the occasion. Some of the Nubians were enraged and asked the king to permit them to kill the Muslims; but the king dissuaded them, saying that this man was away from home on a special mission and that they might as well tolerate his festival.[6]

This is probably the only recorded mission which went to Nubia and had amongst its purposes the spreading of the Islamic faith. However, the Fatimid drive to spread the Shi'ite faith and open new markets might well be the motives underlying the mission.[7]

Severus furnishes us with some data to show that the Nubian king acted as a protector of the Patriarch of Alexandria, but his influence in that capacity did not affect the mutual understanding between the Fatimids and the Nubians. During the vizirate of al-Yāzūrī (439–450/1047–58) the Copts suffered unjustified exactions and the Patriarch Christodulus was committed to prison, falsely accused of inciting the Nubian king to withhold the *Baqṭ*.[8] Abū Ṣāliḥ relates that Christodulus sent to the bishop of Naṭū to ask the Nubian king to intervene

over the matter of fiscal oppression. The king sent financial help only, but the Patriarch was released when his innocence was established.[9]

Christodulus was indicted in 466/1074 during the vizirate of Badr al-Jamālī (466–87/1073–94): he was accused by 'Alī al-Qifṭī of having ordered Buqṭur, the archbishop of Nubia, to destroy the mosques there. The Patriarch was instantly put under arrest and an envoy was sent to Nubia to find out the truth. The innocence of Christodulus was proved and 'Alī al-Qifṭī was executed for his lies.[10]

Another example of the excellent relations that continued to prevail between Christian Nubia and Egypt was the visit to Egypt of King Solomon in 472/1079.[11] King Solomon abdicated in favour of his nephew George[12] and retired to a life of contemplation at the monastery of Anbā Saint Onuphrius, situated a few days from the Nubian frontier and ten stages from Aswān. A member of the Banū'l-Kanz, in consultation with the Fatimid governor of Aswān, carried the king to Cairo, where he was received with great honour and state. During his life in Cairo he was lavishly entertained with gifts and after his death was buried at the monastery of Saint George in Cairo.[13]

These good relations were maintained in another respect. Badr al-Jamālī sent a priest approved by the Patriarch and accompanied by a certain al-Sharīf Sayf al-Dawla to the Nubian king, demanding that Kanz al-Dawla be handed over. This man had, according to Severus, declared independence before the coming to Egypt of Badr al-Jamālī, who harried Kanz al-Dawla until he took refuge in Nubia.[14] This event should be considered in conjunction with the attitude of the Fatimids towards the Arabs and with the punitive expeditions that Badr al-Jamālī launched against them in Upper Egypt.

2. *Fatimid policy towards the Arabs*

The Fatimids were generally well disposed towards the Arabs and might have shown special favours to the Qurayshite clans, specifically in order to win their good will and support.[15] The Fatimids welcomed the Banū 'Umar, the Banū 'l-Zubayr, and the Banū Ṭalḥa and some of the descendants of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. All these clans were settled in the region of Ashmūnayn, where they formed a Qurayshite confederacy; from that time on, the region became known as *Bilād Quraysh* or the land of Quraysh. This area was previously peopled by the tribes of Baliyy and Juhayna, who were pushed southward by the armed forces of the Fatimids.[16] The Banū Hilāl and the Banū Salīm were encouraged to come to Egypt for other reasons. The Fatimids, like all the rulers of Egypt, sought to extend their supremacy over Syria; and in order to protect the land from the depredations of the Carmathians, they drove them back towards al-Baḥrayn. At the same time the Fatimid caliph al-'Azīz (365–86/975–96) moved some of the Carmathian supporters, the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Salīm of Qays, settling them in Upper Egypt and in the desert east of the Nile.[17] In 378/988 the Banū 'l-Aṣfar, a branch of the Muntafiq tribe, defeated the Carmathians in al-Baḥrayn[18] and compelled the remainder of the Banū Salīm, who dominated the region, to follow in the wake of their relatives to Upper Egypt. They were also accompanied by their allies. These nomads soon exhibited their unruly behaviour by preying on the settled inhabitants and by looting and harrying caravans.[19] The Fatimids were thus faced with a major problem which added to the general unrest in the reign of al-Mustanṣir. Many of these tribesmen were persuaded to migrate again, this time in order to put an end to the separatist tendencies

of the Fatimid governor, al Mu'izz b. Bādīs, in north Africa.[20] Although large numbers of the tribesmen did in fact migrate to settle in Barqa[21] and Tripoli, considerable numbers remained behind, while others seem to have spread as far as 'Aydhāb.[22]

In spite of the favourable dispositions of the Fatimids towards the Arabs (thus far) and the advantageous solution of the problem of the Banū Hilāl, the Arabs continued their revolts. This conduct is indeed in keeping with their attitude towards the rulers of Egypt for their continued exclusion of the Arabs from the ruling élite. One of the first acts of Badr al-Jamālī was to subdue these rebellious Arabs. He marched against the Qays, the Fazāra, and the Salīm, killed some of them and drove the rest to Barqa.[23] In Upper Egypt he surprised the Arabs of Juhayna, Tha'laba and Ja'āfira, who had gathered in large numbers at Ṭūkh, and killed many of them, while others were drowned during their flight; only a few managed to escape.[24]

It was during these punitive expeditions that Badr al-Jamālī attacked the Banū 'l-Kanz,[25] who, as we have seen, were rewarded by al-Ḥākim for their co-operation in capturing Abū Rakwa and were the first to lament the disappearance of the Fatimids. Ibn Khaldūn refers to this incident in brief, saying that Badr al-Jamālī reduced Aswān and Kanz al-Dawla Muḥammad in 469/1102–3.[26] The reason for this attack was apparently to check the Banū 'l-Kanz, who were trying to establish an independent principality in the region. However, according to a more contemporary account, Kanz al-Dawla took refuge in Nubia and was handed over by the Nubian king to a Fatimid legation.[27] The rebel was executed later at the Bāb al-Ḥadīd in Cairo. As a result of the successful operation to capture the Kanzī rebel the Patriarch of Alexandria received favourable treatment from the rulers of Egypt.

3. *Relations of the Ayyubids with Nubia and the Arabs*

From that time until the rise of the Ayyubids, seventy years later, there is hardly any mention of Nubia in the written records. This state of affairs may indicate that there were little dealings between Egypt and Nubia or that they were probably of a routine and peaceful nature and not worth recording.[28] One isolated statement, however, confirms that despite these peaceful contacts, the rulers of Egypt stationed a body of troops at Aswān in order to guard the frontier from Nubian invasions.[29] With the collapse of the Fatimid caliphate this precautionary measure was neglected and the Nubians attacked an island just south of Aswān.[30]

This attack is amply described by Ibn Abī Ṭayy', as quoted by Abū Shāma. It was launched in 568/1172–3 by two groups: the first group was called the *Sūdān* by Ibn Abī Ṭayy', that is the black Fāṭimī troops who had fled from Cairo, possibly just before the extinction of the Fatimid state. The second group he vaguely describes as the slaves of the *Nūba*—probably no more than the ordinary Nubians who had given refuge to the black Fāṭimī troops. The Nubians and the black Fāṭimī soldiery marched against Upper Egypt, bent on sacking Aswān. Alarmed by this approaching danger, Kanz al-Dawla sought the help of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who sent him reinforcements under al-Shujā' al-Ba'labakkī. When the Ayyubid troops arrived, the invaders had already looted Aswān and had turned back. Al-Shujā' reinforced by the Banū 'l-Kanz met them in a major encounter, during which large numbers on both sides were killed. Al-Shujā' reported back to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that the Nubians were still a formidable force on the Egyptian border.[31]

A second large and well equipped Ayyubid army

patched an army under al-Aqwash whom he instructed to administer 'Aydhāb and the adjoining lands.[219] The presence of a Mamluk garrison did not solve the difficulty automatically: indeed, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa came in 726/1326 he was not able to sail to Jedda because of a war between the Ḥadrabī and the Mamluk *Wālī*.[220]

Despite these disturbances trade continued to flow until about 760/1358 according to al-Maqrīzī,[221] or 780/1378 on the authority of al-Qalqashandī, when it almost ceased.[222] There is evidence to show that sherds of Celadon and blue-and-white porcelain found at the site of 'Aydhāb belonged to the Ming dynasty which commenced in A.D. 1368.[223]

The trade of 'Aydhāb also declined as a result of two other factors, the first being the decline of economic development in Upper Egypt, of which signs were already apparent. Since the year 774/1374 the region had been hit by a series of natural calamities, both droughts and famines, which led to a general economic depression. By 806/1403–4 the situation had deteriorated to a very low ebb. Fourteen thousand people were reported to have died at Qūṣ, the principal terminus of the trade caravans coming from 'Aydhāb, and a similar number at Asyūṭ.[224] Meanwhile this poverty-stricken region was subjected to crushing levies to meet the increasing expenditure imposed by the Timurid danger. These exactions weakened relations between the Arabs and the Mamluk authorities and adversely affected the safety of the trade routes. The prosperity of Qūṣ dwindled thereafter, and it is not surprising that many merchants came to prefer the port of Jedda to 'Aydhāb.

The rise of Jedda was the second factor which led to the decline of trade in 'Aydhāb. The rulers of Mecca who controlled the port of Jedda must have looked with envy at the great traffic that 'Aydhāb monopolized as a transit port. Their attack on 'Aydhāb in 512/1118 was perhaps

they lent their support to the Kanz al-Dawla, the Arab ruler of Aswān region, who was greatly enraged by the conferment of the Kanzī sphere of influence on an Ayyubid general, the brother of Abū 'l-Hayjā' al-Samīn, as a fief. In protest against Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's action the Kanz al-Dawla killed the newly enfeoffed general. Ibn Shaddād, however, accused Kanz al-Dawla of conspiring with the black Fatimid troops to re-establish the Fatimid state.[39] The friendly relations that existed at one time between the Banū 'l-Kanz and al-Ḥākim may be quoted as a point in favour of this possibility. However, the fact that the Banū 'l-Kanz were crushed by Badr al-Jamālī in 469/1074–5 and that they co-operated with Shams al-Dawla may suggest another line of approach. The Banū 'l-Kanz were partisans of any ruler in Egypt, as long as they were given a free hand in the region of Aswān. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had flatly denied them this right. The Kanzī support for the Fatimid claims was no more than a pretext to strengthen their own control over the Aswān region.

A large Ayyubid army under al-Malik al-'Ādil, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's lieutenant in Egypt, and the general Abū 'l-Hayjā' al-Samīn moved quickly against the rebels. First they dealt with another Arab rising led by 'Abbās Shādī at Ṭūd. Their second target was Kanz al-Dawla, whose forces were crushed. Kanz al-Dawla managed to escape, but was captured and killed in Ṣafar 570/September 1174.[40]

Thus defeated, the Banū 'l-Kanz entered into a temporary eclipse. They withdrew to al-Marīs, over which they gradually established their supremacy, at the same time attempting repeatedly to regain Aswān, which they eventually captured in 790/1388.[41] Until the end of the Ayyubid sultanate nothing more is heard of the Banū 'l-Kanz.[42] In al-Marīs they undoubtedly benefited from the Islamized communities that Ibn Sulaym had noticed there, the presence of which is attested by the discovery

of tombstones dating between 317/929 and 532/1137.[43] These inscriptions were found at Tāffa, al-Daw or al-Derr, and Kalabsha. The Banū 'l-Kanz, in their usual manner, must have intermarried with the Nubians of al-Marīs and thus established their own ascendancy and, with it, that of Islam. Abū Ṣāliḥ reports the presence of a new mosque in Bilāq.[44] When Baybars attacked Nubia in 674/1275, the Lord of the Mountain bore the Arabic name or title Qamar al-Dawla.

The armed clashes between the Kanz Arabs and the Ayyubids might seem to be isolated incidents in what could otherwise be described as a happy state of affairs between the Ayyubids and the Arab tribes in Egypt. Indeed, groups of Arab militia, particularly from the tribes of Ṭayy', joined the Ayyubid army to fight the Crusaders. For their support Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn rewarded them with the rich lands of the Judhām, many of whom had begun to drift away.[45] The Arabs were, however, excluded from the dominant military élite, for the core of the Ayyubid army consisted of Turks and Kurds.[46] The Arabs, in fact, did not oppose the Ayyubid regime actively as long as they were left unmolested. But to be left alone might mean the undermining of government authority: this was the crux of the matter. The Arabs had repeatedly risen in rebellion, whenever they sensed a slackness in government control—most of their activities being concentrated in Upper Egypt, a region far from effective governmental supervision. No less than five different Arab risings were reported in that region. The first in 566/1171 was reduced by Tūrān Shāh,[47] who also crushed the second rising, led by 'Abbās Shādī, and the third, undertaken by the Banū 'l-Kanz, in 570/1174. The fourth rebellion occurred in 637/1239–40[48] and the fifth in 638/1240–1.[49] The opposition in Upper Egypt was to reach its height, however, in the time of the Mamluk sultanate in Egypt and Syria.

4. *Mamluk policy towards the Arabs*

Internal differences among the Ayyubids led to a rapid decline and fragmentation of the regime, which was eventually taken over by their own Turkish slaves or Mamluks.[50] The majority of the Arabs, who continued to lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence, preying on settled communities, and unaffected by governmental decrees, found the change disastrous. Their simple mentality and code of ethics resented that soldiers, who had been under the yoke of slavery, should now be the masters of their destiny.[51] The Ayyubids had, to say the least, shown themselves as *ghāẓīs* and as culturally Arabized rulers. To judge by what happened later, the distrust of the Arabs was justified. The arrogant Mamluks, whose regime was essentially a foreign military occupation, were far from sympathetic towards them. Indeed, a considerable number of the Mamluks did not even speak Arabic. On the other hand their attitude was not due to any ethnic objection, but rather akin to the resentment of the townsmen and the sedentary population against the nomads.

When the Mamluks assumed control, most of the Arab tribes rose in revolt (651/1253) under the leadership of al-Sharīf Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Tha'lab b. Najm al-Dīn al-Ja'farī.[52] He declared in the name of his supporters: "We are the owners of the country, and are more entitled to rule it than the Mamluks".[53] The Arab defiance of the new regime was expressed in a refusal to pay the *kharāj*. The Arabs gathered in large numbers from as far afield as the extreme south of Upper Egypt and from al-Buḥayra, al-Jīza, and al-Fayyūm towards Dahrūṭ Ṣarabān in al-Ashmūnayn. There, twelve thousand horsemen and a large number of other Arabs paid homage to al-Sharīf Ḥiṣn al-Dīn. The Arab tribes at this time seem to have possessed consider-

able wealth and numerous horses. The first Mamluk sultan, Aybak, sent five thousand of his cavalry against the rebels. In a pitched battle the Arabs were routed and put to flight. Ḥiṣn al-Dīn was eventually captured and hanged by Sultan Baybars.[54] The Mamluks followed up their success by crushing another Arab revolt at Sakhā and Sanhūr in al-Gharbiyya. The Sunbus, supported by their allies the 'Udhra, the Mudlaj, and the Kināna, also defied the Mamluks.[55] To weaken those who escaped death, the authorities imposed heavier taxes on them. Yet, the Arab opposition remained unbroken.

The Arab tribes continued to be a nuisance to the government and a menace to the settled population. To the chroniclers, who associated themselves with the ruling class, the Arab tribes no longer deserved the term *'Arab* and were therefore designated by the somewhat less respectable word *'Urbān*, that is, Beduins. Indeed, they were all lumped together under this term; only on very rare occasions do the chronicles mention the specific names of tribes and clans. However, the difference between the nomads and semi-settled Arabs is not always clear, since there were close ties between them. Furthermore, the settled Arabs and the peasants would from time to time side with the Beduins against the Mamluk government.

The struggle between the Beduins and the masters of Egypt showed no sign of subsiding. Indeed, as long as the *'Urbān* were not broken effectively and were capable of mustering enough resistance, they continued to oppose the Mamluk authority. Once defeated, they would follow the same road that their predecessors had taken and escape to the regions of good pastures and of freedom from government control. This pattern was perpetuated, though with diminishing violence, right through the ninth/fifteenth century. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this point.

In 689/1290 a large Mamluk force went to Ṭūkh, killed a group of *'Urbān* and burnt others, probably in retaliation for a local rebellion. The Mamluks inflicted a crushing penalty on the nomads: they took hostages and seized a thousand camels, two hundred horses and a large number of goats, together with large quantities of weapons.[56] A decade later, when the Mamluks were preoccupied with the Mongol threat to Syria, the Arabs of Upper Egypt refused to pay taxes. In 700/1300–1 Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-A'sar marched with several hundred Mamluk troops to pacify the rebels. He killed a number of suspected ring-leaders. He then imposed a general levy, which yielded 1,500,000 *dirhams*, a thousand camels, and a thousand sheep.[57] Another source adds that the Mamluk general confiscated all weapons and horses and that not a single horse was left behind with "a peasant, a nomad, a judge, or a learned man".[58] This crippling levy and the general disarmament did not, however, tame the Arabs who soon refused once more to pay taxes and resorted to brigandage. They ignored the Mamluk authorities and imposed their own taxes on the local inhabitants.[59]

As a result of these alarming events the Mamluks decided to make an end of the rebels. Armed with a *fatwa*[60] authorizing them to fight the insubordinate Muslims, the Mamluks prepared a large expedition, which, in order to deceive the *'Urbān*, they declared to be destined for Syria. In Jumāda II, 701/February 1302, three Mamluk armies advanced to encircle the Arabs in Upper Egypt. They were instructed to put all the *'Urbān* to the sword.[61] Taken by surprise, the Arabs fled in panic, but many could not escape the tightening grip of the Mamluks and were massacred. This punishment was not restricted to the nomads, as no less than one thousand six hundred Arabs who cultivated their own lands were taken into captivity.[62] The army returned to Cairo with a very rich booty of money and of horses, camels, cattle,

sheep, and weapons, the numbers of which ran to thousands.[63] This account, though probably an over-estimate, indicates the state of poverty to which the Arabs were reduced. The country was indeed pacified, yet at a very high cost. Many villages were depopulated, except for women and children. Those Arabs who escaped massacre and captivity were not allowed to carry weapons, nor to ride horses.[64]

While attempting to establish order, the governor of Upper Egypt was killed by the Arabs, who sacked Asyūṭ, seized provisions from the farmers and harried the caravans. Luckily for the government, the Arabs fell out among themselves. A fight broke out between the stronger side, the 'Arak, a branch of the Juhayna, and the Banū Hilāl in 749/1348. In 752/1351 a Mamluk expedition under Ůzdemir[65] al-Kāshif, with the help of the Banū Hilāl, defeated the 'Arak.[66] Although the 'Arak were temporarily checked their power was not decisively broken. This was the beginning of a bitter struggle between the *'Urbān* led by the 'Arak and the Mamluk authorities.

The return of the Mamluk army was a signal for the Banū 'Arak to take their revenge. Under the leadership of their chief, Muḥammad b. Wāṣil al-Aḥdab, they overran the Banū Hilāl, some of whom may have escaped death by fleeing further to the south. Al-Aḥdab's supporters continued to plunder the land, thus amassing great wealth and undermining the authority of the central government. During these troubled years al-Aḥdab's fame and influence increased so significantly that he aspired to become the effective ruler. His generosity made him attractive to many homeless Arabs, who enjoyed his hospitality and carried out his orders. The peasants feared his might. At times it was only through his benevolent intervention that the Mamluk tax-collectors were able to carry out their functions. The Arab chief had his own *ḥājib*, or chamberlain, and a secretary to conduct his

correspondence. Al-Aḥdab's movement was imitated by al-Suwaydī in the region of al-Bahnasā and al-Mayysara in Middle Egypt. In the face of this daring behaviour the Mamluk government decided to intervene once more.[67]

After a month of consultations and detailed preparations a large Mamluk army under the command of Sayf al-Dīn Shaykhū, moved by different routes to Upper Egypt in Dhū'l-Qa'da 754/December 1353.[68] Before the campaign had even begun, news of the Mamluk intention had travelled far in Upper Egypt. The '*Urbān* took fright and adopted precautionary measures: some decided to migrate to Nubia with their families, others retired to various hiding-places, while a few attempted to go on pilgrimage, but were unfortunately betrayed by their enemies and killed in Cairo. Starting from al-Jīza, the Mamluk troops made a systematic search for the rebels and killed or captured all who were suspect. All horses and weapons were confiscated.[69]

Meanwhile al-Aḥdab was joined by the Beduins of Manfalūṭ, al-Marāġha, the Banū Kalb, the Juhayna, and the 'Arak. There were more than ten thousand horsemen and many warriors on foot. All the Arabs awaited with their cattle and other possessions near Asyūṭ for the arrival of the Mamluk troops. Al-Aḥdab and his followers retreated to the region of Aswān, where in repeated encounters the Arabs gained the upper hand. But on the arrival of the main Mamluk force the Arabs panicked and fled in utter disorder, leaving their families and possessions behind them. The Mamluks pursued the fugitives, putting them to the sword indiscriminately.[70] According to one source, the Mamluks followed the Arabs for a period of seven days as far as the Land of the *Zanj*,[71] that is, of the blacks. The army returned to Lower Egypt after the country had been pacified and the nomads practically wiped out.[72] As might be expected, the Mamluks came back with a very rich booty.[73] Al-Ahdab remained a

fugitive, until he was pardoned in Rabī' 1, 756/January 1355, when he promised, probably on behalf of his remaining supporters, to refrain from riding horses or carrying weapons, and to till the soil instead.[74]

It is noteworthy that the Mamluks, like other settled governments, attempted to convert the *'Urbān* into a settled population. Although quite a number accepted this change, others were prepared to move elsewhere rather than abandon their nomadic way of life. Indeed, during the previous century many Arabs accompanied the Mamluk expeditions against Nubia, others decided to migrate of their own accord to that country, while some fled in the same direction before their pursuers, the Mamluks.

Twenty years later, when the terrible massacres of Shaykhū had been half-forgotten, the struggle was taken up once more by the Banū 'l-Kanz. In 780/1378–9 they were defeated by the governor of Aswān and no less than two hundred tribesmen amongst their supporters were sold as slaves.[75] At the same time the *'Urbān* of al-Buḥayra threw off the Mamluk authority, looted merrily and made for Upper Egypt, where they escaped from the pursuing troops.

The Arab revolts, although mainly concentrated in Upper Egypt, were by no means restricted to that region.[76] In Rajab 798/August 1395 the Banū 'l-Kanz, supported by the Aḥāmida, sacked Aswān and killed the governor. Boiling with anger, the sultan ordered his deputy in Upper Egypt to hunt down the rebels wherever they were and asked the chief of the Hawāra, a Berber tribe, to help him. The army followed the *'Urbān* south of Aswān, but there was no sign of them[77]—they escaped into the Sudan. It is significant to note that Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq (784–801/1382–98) transferred a group of the Hawāra from Lower to Upper Egypt, possibly as a check on Banū 'l-Kanz.[78] These Berbers had by the turn of the

century become predominant over those Arabs in Upper Egypt who no longer had a chief from amongst their own number.

We have seen how the Mamluk anti-nomad policy left the *'Urbān* no alternative but to flee to Nubia. Furthermore, the recurrent outbreaks of famine and epidemics which occurred in the reigns of the first Circassian[79] sultans encouraged some of them to make for Nubia in order to avoid death. The earliest recorded reference to such a migration was in 724/1324.[80] The succession of famines and plagues had a depressing effect on the economic life of the peasants and on the Beduins, who were at the same time subjected to crushing taxes and incessant levies to meet the needs of war. Moreover, as most of the land was enfeoffed to the Mamluks, the peasants were no better than serfs.[81] Those who migrated to Nubia were already famine stricken and could do nothing but continue their rapacious behaviour—plundering the Nubian Christians and quarrelling with the new Muslim rulers here or among themselves.

5. *Mamluk relations with Nubia*

The rise of the Mamluk state marked the beginning of a new phase in Muslim Nubian relations. The Mamluks took a more positive attitude towards Nubia and began to intervene more and more deeply in its affairs, until at last they came to dominate them.

In 667/1268 King Dāwūd of Nubia sent to Egypt a mission carrying presents to Sultan Baybars. The embassy reported to the Sultan that King Dāwūd had deposed his maternal uncle, Abū 'l-'Izz Murtashkar, who had become blind, placed him in confinement and banished his sons to al-Abwāb. The mission was probably no more than a fact-finding legation to ascertain the policy of the new rulers of Egypt towards Nubia. In reply

Baybars demanded the immediate delivery of the *Baqṭ*, which had probably been discontinued for some decades.[82] For the time being, however, Baybars was fully occupied by major problems which needed his immediate attention. Dāwūd, not welcoming such a demand, did nothing about it for some four years. Then he initiated towards Egypt an aggressive policy, which soon assumed alarming proportions.

Dāwūd's first target was the commercial port of 'Aydhāb. On 21 Muḥarram 671/18 August 1272 a Nubian army sacked 'Aydhāb, killing a number of its inhabitants, amongst them the *Wālī*, the judge and the supervisor of merchants.[83] By this master-stroke Dāwūd attempted to paralyse the commercial traffic on which Egypt's economy was in no small measure dependent. Dāwūd's motives were, however, far from explicit. It has been suggested that Dāwūd was seeking to collaborate with the remnants of the Crusaders in Syria in order to weaken the Mamluks.[84] Although it may seem strange that the Nubians waited so long before taking the offensive in favour of the Crusaders, the possibility of such a collaboration cannot be ruled out. The Nubians might have felt themselves to be isolated[85] by the Muslims, after the Mamluks had extended their influence over Sawākin which had been until this time free from effective and organized Muslim control. Consequently they resorted to this uncompromising action. On the other hand, Dāwūd was perhaps simply attracted by the richness of 'Aydhāb, but the fact that he had moved against Aswān, devastating the country[86] on his way back, might suggest another reason for his conduct: his offensive was more probably intended to deter Baybars from renewing his demands for the *Baqṭ*. Baybars, however, was not a man to let such a defiance go unpunished.

The governor of Qūṣ pursued the raiders a considerable distance into Nubia, and with success. After wreaking

destruction in his path, he returned with numerous prisoners, including the Lord of the Mountain, these captives being later executed in Cairo.[87] Before Baybars took any decisive step against Dāwūd, an internal development in Nubia made his task easier.

Internal squabbles over the succession and feuds among members of the royal family, some of whom sought Mamluk support, gave the rulers of Egypt a golden opportunity to intervene in the Nubian sphere of politics. This situation led to the emergence in Nubia of a local party, on which the Mamluks could depend.

In 674/1275 Prince Shakanda,[88] a nephew of the late King Abū 'l-'Izz Murtashkar, came to the court of Baybars seeking help against his cousin Dāwūd, who had usurped the throne. Without hesitation, Baybars sent out a powerful expedition composed of three hundred Mamluk horsemen together with provincial soldiers, the Arab warriors from Upper Egypt, and other special forces under Aqsunqur al-Faraqānī and 'Izz al-Dīn al-Afram, to conquer Nubia and put Shakanda on the throne.[89]

The army set off early in Sha'bān 674/January 1276, following the river-bank and using boats whenever possible. They occupied the fortress of al-Daw, one of the seats of the Lord of the Mountain,[90] and the island of Mikhā'īl,[91] after some opposition. Qamar al-Dawla Kashī,[92] the Lord of the Mountain, obtained an amnesty and was confirmed in his office after swearing an oath of allegiance to Shakanda, as long as the latter remained faithful to the Sultan of Egypt. Qamar al-Dawla supplied the army with skilled Nubians to pilot the boats through the cataracts. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Afram captured another castle situated on the Nile and killed two hundred and fifty people. At this juncture provisions ran short and the Banū 'l-Kanz, who had, apparently, been compelled to join the invaders, were blamed for the delay caused by their failure to navigate the boats carrying foodstuffs

in an almost unnavigable stream. The army, however, pushed on, until they met King Dāwūd in a major encounter, just before they reached Dunqula.[93]

On 13 Shawwal 674/3 April 1276 the two armies clashed.[94] King Dāwūd's men, mounted on camels, were armed with lances and wore black cloaks called *al-Dakādīk*.[95] It is surprising that the sources hardly mention the skilful archers whose fame and marksmanship had often struck fear into their enemies. The Nubians, routed at the first onslaught, fell back in utter confusion. No less than ten thousand of them became prisoners on that day according to one authority.[96] During the night King Dāwūd escaped to a fortress on the western bank of the Nile hoping to defend the position. The two Mamluk generals pursued the fugitives for three days, after which Dāwūd was forced to abandon his mother, sister, and niece and to make for al-Abwāb. The Mamluk army then returned to Dunqula, bearing off Dāwūd's relations as captives.[97]

The victorious Mamluk army set Shakanda on the throne, after he had solemnly engaged, by all that he respected and believed, to remain a loyal vassal of the Sultan of Egypt. The new king also promised to fulfil a number of unilateral obligations, the majority of which had been laid down by the Mamluk authorities, even before the campaign had begun. The principal terms of the agreement were as follows:[98]

(1) Shakanda promised to send annually one half of the revenues of Nubia to the Sultan of Egypt. The second half was assigned to Shakanda and was to be spent on defence and on the upkeep of the kingdom. He would also send annually three giraffes, five she-leopards, a hundred swift camels, fawn in colour, and four hundred chosen oxen. Shakanda was also to hand over all that belonged to King Dāwūd, his relations and the soldiers who died during this

campaign. The Nubians were offered three choices: to adopt Islam, to face death, or to pay the Jizya. They accepted the third course.[99] A yearly poll tax of one *dīnār* for each adult was imposed on the inhabitants. The text is not specific, but it can be assumed that the Muslims were not subjected to the same impositions. Moreover, although the text does not refer to the *Baqṭ*, it would seem to have been included in what al-Nuwayrī calls "previous arrangements".[100]

(2) The northern part of Nubia, al-Marīs, which comprised one quarter of the country, was assigned to the Sultan. This clause implies that the revenue of this region was probably paid directly to the Mamluk treasury, since the Lord of the Mountain continued in office as a vassal of the Sultan.

(3) Shakanda undertook not to allow any Arab nomads, young or old, to remain in Nubia. If any nomads should be found there, they were to be sent back to the Sultan. This clause reveals to what an extent the Mamluks feared the Arab nomads; it does seem unfair to have suppressed them in Upper Egypt and to have extradited them from Nubia.

(4) Shakanda took a second oath in public, confirming the above-mentioned terms and undertaking to report all happenings in Nubia to the Sultan and to go to Cairo, whenever summoned to do so. The inhabitants of Dunqula also took an oath of allegiance to the Sultan and to his representative, that is, the king, whom they were to obey, as long as he remained loyal to the Sultan.

The Mamluk army was also reported to have destroyed at this time a place called 'Aydhāb[101] which King Dāwūd had had built by Muslim captives in memory of his raids on 'Aydhāb and Aswān. It had churches and houses decorated with portraits of Muslims who were killed during these campaigns.[102] The church of al-Sūs or Jesus,

in Dunqula, was stripped of its treasures: a golden cross, the value of which was 4,640.5 *dīnārs*, and silver vessels to the value of 8,660 *dīnārs*.[103]

The victors arrived in Cairo on 15 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 674/2 June 1276, accompanied by twenty Nubian princes as hostages including a brother of King Dāwūd.[104] These Nubian princes, some of whom had claims to the throne, were kept in Cairo for use, at an appropriate time, in the same manner as Shakanda had been used, that is, to accompany the Mamluk expeditions into Nubia. Another welcome captive was King Dāwūd himself, who arrived in Cairo on 13 Muḥarram 675/27 June 1276.[105] Although Dāwūd had taken refuge at al-Abwāb, its ruler Adur sent him in chains to Cairo. By this gesture Adur won the goodwill of Sultan Baybars. Ten thousand captives, both men and women, were sold in the markets of Cairo at three *dirhams* a head. If the figure is true, it must have caused a considerable drain on the human resources of Nubia. All these dealings, however, necessitated the creation of a special *dīwān*, or office to handle the affairs of Nubia particularly the *Jizya* and *Kharāj*.[106]

The invasion had dealt a terrible blow to the independent existence of Christian Nubia—the end of which was only a matter of time. The great dam that had obstructed extensive Arab penetration into Nubia for centuries was now much eroded.[107] The northern part of Nubia, al-Marīs, had become extensively Islamized and was definitely under Muslim control.

Despite all the above-mentioned devices to control Nubian affairs, Baybars resorted to yet another precaution. He sent an Ismā'īlī *fidāwī* or assassin named Salāma, who came originally from al-Abwāb, to keep an eye on Shakanda and presumably to assassinate him if he made a false move. Salāma's origin and knowledge of the country, although of great value, might not have brought him close to his target. He was, however, accompanied by

another assassin, who was a stranger to the land. After a while Salāma parted from him, feigning a quarrel. The second assassin won the king's favour and became his personal bodyguard.[108] At an unknown date he murdered the king, and a certain Barak then ascended the throne.

Barak, it would seem, gained the throne in the earlier years of the reign of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn (678–89/1279–90) and showed some signs of independence. At an unknown date a Mamluk expedition under Sanjar al-Maṣrūrī deposed Barak and killed him. Another Nubian prince Shamāmūn[109] was crowned in the place of Barak.[110] The Mamluks soon realized that from their point of view Shamāmūn was no better than Barak.

At the beginning of Ramaḍān 685/October 1286 an envoy from King Adur of al-Abwāb arrived at the Mamluk court complaining about the hostile attitude of the King of Dunqula. Shamāmūn acted in a hostile manner towards the Mamluk officer 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar, who was sent to him. We learn from an obscure passage that 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar would have been murdered, had the nobles not intervened, saying to Shamāmūn that such an action would result in the ruin and loss of the kingdom.[111] No sooner had 'Alam al-Dīn reached Cairo once more than a Nubian mission arrived on 6 Ramaḍān/26 October of the same year,[112] bearing an appropriate present of one hundred and ninety slaves and two hundred cows[113] as a token of friendship.

Wishing to have more exact information, on 20 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 685/8 February 1287, the sultan sent two ambassadors to Dunqula and al-Abwāb with orders to report on the state of affairs there. The result of their missions is not clear,[114] but the dispatch of a punitive expedition to Nubia in the following year would suggest that Shamāmūn was blamed for all the difficulties.

The gravity of the situation was clearly reflected in the swift action that Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn took to punish

Shamāmūn. He sent to Nubia one of his ablest generals 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar and 'Izz al-Dīn al-Afram al-Kawrānī and 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur or Aydemir, the governor of Qūṣ. The expedition, comprising Mamluk contingents from Cairo and Qūṣ, set out on 6 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 686/6 January 1288 and was joined by tribesmen from Upper Egypt. These tribesmen were from the Banū Abī Bakr, the Banū 'Umar, the Banū Sharīf, the Banū 'l-Kanz, the Banū Hilāl; the Banū Shaybān, and other tribes also. 'Alm al-Dīn Sanjar and half the army followed the western bank of the Nile, while the other half took the eastern side under 'Izz al-Dīn Aydemir.[115] Meanwhile, Shamāmūn instructed the Lord of the Mountain, Jurays, to evacuate the country. Jurays retreated systematically, one stage after another, ahead of the Mamluk forces, until he joined Shamāmūn near Dunqula with his army intact. In a major encounter many Nubians fell and the rest were put to flight; few of the Muslims died. For fifteen days the Mamluks pursued Shamāmūn and the remnant of the Nubian army. Jurays and a cousin of the king were, however, taken as prisoners to Dunqula.[116]

A nephew of Shamāmūn (his sister's son) was put on the throne, while Jurays was confirmed in his office as the Lord of the Mountain. The new king took an oath of allegiance and promised to deliver annually a special tribute.[117] The sultan instructed his generals that 'Izz al-Dīn Aydemir should remain in Dunqula with a garrison to watch the situation. In order to facilitate 'Izz al-Dīn's task the sultan sent al-Sharīf Sa'd al-Dīn Sa'd, the son of the sister of King Dāwūd, who was experienced and knowledgeable in Nubian affairs, to act as his adviser. However, al-Sharīf Sa'd al-Dīn was unable to proceed on his journey and remained in Qūṣ for an unknown reason.[118]

The greater part of the Mamluk army returned laden with rich booty: captives, cows, horses, camels, and cloth. Some of the captives were exchanged as gifts

among the Mamluks and the rest were sold at a very low price.[119] These large amounts of plunder collected from the Nubian campaigns and from the *'Urbān* in Upper Egypt, suggest that there was perhaps an economic motive behind the repeated interventions.

No sooner had the Mamluk army gone back to Egypt than the resourceful and cunning Shamāmūn reappeared in Dunqula. He drove out the Mamluk garrison and re-established himself on the throne. The defeated Nubian king (the nephew of Shamāmūn) together with Jurays, accompanied the Mamluk garrison to Cairo and informed the sultan.[120] The sultan now sent to Nubia an expedition greater than the first under 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Afram, who set out in Shawwāl 688/October 1289 accompanied by the deposed king and by Jurays. On their way to Dunqula the king died at Aswān and the sultan sent a nephew[121] of the late King Dāwūd in his place.[122] Although Ibn al-Furāt does not mention the name of this prince, it seems highly probable that it was Prince Budamma who, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, was sent to Nubia in the same year.[123]

The Mamluk army consisted of no less than forty thousand Arab tribesmen gathered from all over Egypt.[124] This figure is indeed large, but it suggests that large numbers of Arabs, accompanied by their families, participated willingly in this campaign, in order to find relief from the oppressive rule of the Mamluks in Egypt. The Mamluk troops proper could probably not have numbered more than some hundreds of men. Military equipment and provisions were carried in five hundred large and small boats.[125] As in the previous campaigns, the army was divided into two sections that followed the two banks of the Nile. Jurays preceded the army to calm the inhabitants and to win their goodwill. He was greatly helped in his task by the Banū 'l-Kanz, who also arranged camping stations for the army. As far as the island of

Mikhā'īl—the end of Jurays domains—the villagers showed no hostility and welcomed the Mamluk army, but further south the inhabitants adopted a scorched earth policy as far as Dunqula, which was itself abandoned to the Mamluk forces. There, Ibn al-Furāt tells us, the Mamluks met an old man who reported the retreat of the king to a long island fifteen days away[126]—possibly Muqrāt.[127]

The Muslims, however, pushed forward to the island, where they summoned Shamāmūn to negotiate offering him an amnesty. Shamāmūn did not reply. When the Mamluks decided to attack three days later, the king had already retreated to the district of al-Abwāb.[128] It is possible that as 'Izz al-Dīn al-Aframm had marched some thirty-three days beyond Dunqula, he was in fact pursuing the fleeing king. These troops are said to have penetrated into regions where no Muslim army had previously entered and that their presence caused great alarm among the inhabitants.[129] It is surprising that on such a campaign only two Muslims died: one killed and the other drowned.[130] Most probably there was hardly any opposition, since the inhabitants had run away in panic before the advance of the invading army. King Shamāmūn was, however, deserted by the princes and the priests, who surrendered to 'Izz al-Dīn al-Afram, even handing over to him the crown and silver cross, which were the symbols of sovereignty in Nubia.[131]

The victors returned to Dunqula, where they held a great festival and rejoicing at the church of al-Sūs after which Prince Budamma was crowned. Like his predecessors, Budamma took an oath of allegiance and promised fealty to the sultan. The nobles, the priests, and the rest of the inhabitants also took a public oath. Jurays was once more confirmed in his office as the Lord of the Mountain. A Mamluk garrison was left behind at Dunqula with a sufficient store of provisions under the command of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-'Izzī, while the rest of the

troops marched back to Egypt laden with much booty in Jumāda 1, 689/May 1290. A number of Nubian notables, riding camels and carrying weapons, travelled with the Mamluk force, probably as hostages.[132] Five days after the Mamluk army had left, Budamma sent a letter to the sultan saying that the fugitive inhabitants had returned and were now tending their lands.[133]

Once the Muslims had gone, Shamāmūn began once again his favourite game of "hide and seek". He reappeared in Dunqula and in a single night won over the Nubian troops and the *Sawākira*[134] or princes and then killed King Budamma. Jurays met a similar fate too. The frightened Mamluk garrison, asked to depart immediately, hurried back to Qūṣ. At the same time Shamāmūn dispatched a letter to the sultan, begging for forgiveness and promising to pay an increased *Baqṭ*.[135] He supported his request with a gift of many slaves and other presents.[136] Despite Shamāmūn's unreliable attitude, the sultan was inclined to confirm him as his vassal on the Nubian throne for two reasons. Firstly, as Ibn al-Furāt states, the sultan had more pressing matters to consider than the problem of Nubia;[137] he was preoccupied no doubt with the imminent siege of 'Akkā, the Crusader stronghold in Syria.[138] Secondly, he realized, perhaps, that despite repeated Mamluk inroads into Nubia, the time for annexing it as a dependency had not yet come. Indeed, to do so would have diverted the Mamluks from their major objectives in 'Akkā. So the Nubian problem was shelved and Shamāmūn remained in office.

Although his career was eventful enough, there is little information to be gleaned from the sources about the last years of Shamāmūn's life. In the early days of the reign of Sultan Khalīl b. Qalā'ūn (Dhū 'l-Qa'da 689–Muḥarram 93/November 1290–December 93) the sending of a tribute from Nubia was interrupted: Shamāmūn wrote to the sultan, apologizing for his failure to send the

tribute in time. He blamed the repeated Muslim campaigns and the attacks of King Adur for causing further ruin to the already poverty-stricken country. The last two expeditions must have shown Shamāmūn what kind of power he had to face in Egypt and made him afraid of it. He was also anxious about the safety of his mother, his aunts, his sister, and his relations who were kept as hostages in Cairo. His apologies were not accepted and Sultan Khalīl b. Qalā'ūn threatened him with immediate action, if the payments of the tribute were not resumed. At the same time the sultan reassured Shamāmūn that his relations were in good hands and received regular payment and attention.[139]

In the light of these pleasing tidings, Shamāmūn sent to Egypt a delegation consisting of his brother, al-Bursī, and of Sayf al-Dawla Jurays[140] al-Nūbī, the Lord of the Mountain. Shamāmūn begged for forgiveness and besought the sultan to let his mother return since, as Shamāmūn himself stated, it was the custom of Nubian kings to conduct their affairs with the advice of their women-folk. The delegation brought a gift of two hundred *qinṭārs* of alum, 1,500 *sunbādhaj*[141], and the normal tribute. The present was accepted and the delegation was kindly received.[142] What happened to Shamāmūn is not clear: it would seem from the evidence of one particular source that he retained the throne until the time of Sultan al-'Ādil Zayn al-Dīn Kaytbughā al-Manṣūrī (694–6/1295–7).[143]

For a decade or so Nubia remained subordinate to the Mamluk authorities, even when they were harassed by the Mongols in Syria. In 704/1304–5 King Ammy of Nubia[144] arrived in Cairo bearing gifts and seeking help against a rebel. He returned, accompanied by a number of Mamluk troops and a large body of Arab tribesmen under the governor of Qūṣ, Sayf al-Dīn Ṭaqṣubā.[145] Although the expedition succeeded in overcoming the

cause of trouble,[146] it was exposed to the danger of attack and shortage of provisions.[147] After spending nine months in Nubia the troops came back to Egypt. But King Ammy did not stay long in power, for he was murdered in 711/1311[148] and was succeeded by his brother Karanbas. In the same year the new king went to Cairo[149] to pay homage to the sultan al-Nāṣir Qalā'ūn, to whom he presented a gift of one thousand slaves, five hundred camels, and five hundred cows. Qalā'ūn accepted the gift and welcomed the king.[150]

Once Karanbas found himself secure on the Nubian throne, he refused to send the tribute, thus provoking the Mamluks into action once more. The sultan, as usual, sent an army with a Nubian prince as king, to succeed the rebellious prince. But there was one major difference: the Nubian prince now chosen was a Muslim, a change which though trivial in appearance, was in fact to have a radical effect on the fortunes of Christian Nubia.[151]

In 715/1315 the sultan decided to send to Nubia his general 'Izz al-Dīn Ayybak with a Mamluk force, in order to install as King of Nubia Prince Sayf al-Dīn 'Abdallāh Barshambū[152]-al-Nūbī, a nephew of King Dāwūd, who had embraced Islam, while he was detained at the court in Cairo. He became, so the sources tell us, a good Muslim. On hearing this startling news, King Karanbas sent his nephew Kanz al-Dawla b. Shujā' al-Dīn Nāṣir b. Fakhr al-Dīn Mālik of the illustrious Kanz family, to the sultan on an interesting mission. He stated that, if it was the sultan's desire to appoint a Muslim to the Nubian throne, the present king would propose Kanz al-Dawla, his sister's son, to succeed him, as Kanz al-Dawla was legitimately entitled to it. This legitimate right was based on the matrilineal system of succession, common among the inhabitants of the Sudan and by virtue of which the Arabs became the rulers of Nubia. The sultan now committed Kanz al-Dawla to prison and

a Mamluk army promptly moved towards Dunqula in 716/1316. Karanbas had no alternative but to retreat to al-Abwāb. Before long, however, he was captured by the king of that region and handed over to the Mamluk troops who carried him off to Cairo. On his arrival there, the sultan released Kanz al-Dawla, who seems to have persuaded the sultan to let him attend to his domains near Aswān, so that he could pay the Mamluk treasury the *Kharāj* due from them.[153]

Kanz al-Dawla, wasting no time, set off for Dunqula. At al-Daw he was proclaimed king by the Nubians, who saluted him with a special form of greeting reserved for kings.[154] This event marked the beginning of a struggle between Kanz al-Dawla and the Mamluk nominee. Fortunately for Kanz al-Dawla, the new king, 'Abdallāh Bershambū, was not very popular with his subjects, who accused him of changing the customs of the land by adopting a haughty spirit, contrary to the modest behaviour of earlier Nubian monarchs, and of treating his subjects with excessive cruelty. For these reasons they disliked his rule and they collaborated, therefore, with Kanz al-Dawla to end it. Kanz al-Dawla's claim found support also among the Islamized Nubians, and the numerous Arab tribesmen who either came with the Mamluk campaigns and remained in Nubia or who had fled from Upper Egypt. Kanz al-Dawla and his supporters now attacked 'Abdallāh Bershambū, who, betrayed by his own followers, fell dead under the daggers of his assailants.[155]

Although Kanz al-Dawla was hailed as a king he refused to wear the Nubian crown, adopting the pose of preserving that honour for the rightful occupant of the throne, his maternal uncle who was detained in Cairo.[156] Despite his apparent reluctance to wear the crown, Kanz al-Dawla decided to keep the throne warm and to mark time. In Egypt, the sultan refused to recognize the new

change. He probably saw in Kanz al-Dawla, whose influence covered much of al-Marīs, a greater threat to Mamluk authority in al-Muqurra than the Nubian puppet kings. He feared too that the descendants of the Rabī'a would form a rallying point at Dunqula for the discontented Arabs who were entering the Sudan from Upper Egypt. A lesser evil would be, indeed, to release another Nubian prince from Cairo.

Prince Abrām, a brother of King Karanbas was sent to Dunqula to oust his nephew, Kanz al-Dawla. He was promised the release of his brother Karanbas, if he rid the land of Kanz al-Dawla.[157] It is significant to note that Karanbas embraced Islam and received from the sultan, al-Nāṣir Qalā'ūn, a promise of restoration to the Nubian throne.[158] It is understandable that Karanbas did become a convert to Islam in order to increase his chances of regaining his kingdom. However, when Abrām arrived in Dunqula, he was welcomed by Kanz al-Dawla who abdicated all powers in favour of his uncle, whom he now began to serve faithfully. But the new king treacherously seized Kanz al-Dawla with the intention of sending him to the sultan. Kanz al-Dawla was only saved by the timely death of King Abrām three days later. Once more Kanz al-Dawla ascended the throne and all the Arabs rallied to his support.[159]

In 723/1323 Sultan al-Nāṣir Qalā'ūn sent another expedition to put King Karanbas back on his throne. Before the arrival of the Mamluk troops Kanz al-Dawla fled to al-Abwāb, where the pursuers could not reach him.[160] Having set King Karanbas on the throne, the Mamluks returned to Cairo, arriving there on 9 Sha'bān 724/4 August 1324, nine months after they had set out on the expedition.[161] Once the Mamluks disappeared beyond the horizon, Kanz al-Dawla reappeared on the scene and drove out his uncle Karanbas. The fugitive king remained at Aswān, awaiting Mamluk reinforce-

ments, until 726/1326.[162] The expected help never came; indeed, only on very rare occasions did the Mamluks ever again intervene in Nubian affairs. The reasons for this sudden change are not clear. Although the Mamluks now left Nubia to face its own destiny under the Banū 'l-Kanz,[163] it was they who had played a major role in weakening it beyond recovery.

In 767/1365–6 a Nubian embassy composed of Rukn al-Dīn Karanbas, a Nubian prince, al-Ḥājj Yāqūt, the dragoman, and a third person named Fāris al-Dīn, reported to the sultan that the then Nubian king had fallen out with his nephew. The sources reveal neither the name of the king nor whether or not he was an Arab or an Islamized Nubian; nor is the name of the nephew given to us. The nephew of the Nubian king attacked Dunqula with the aid of the Banū Ja'd[164] and, after fierce fighting, the king was slain. Thereupon the adherents of the dead king withdrew to al-Daw and proclaimed the brother of the dead man as their king.[165] The fact that the nephew of the slain king had the assistance of the Banū Ja'd, the composition of the embassy from Nubia in 767/1365 and its request for Mamluk intervention seem to indicate that the Banū 'l-Kanz no longer had undisputed control at Dunqula. Rukn al-Dīn Karanbas does not seem to have been a prince of the Banū 'l-Kanz—his name does not suggest that he belonged to them; nor, if he was indeed a member of that clan, would he have need of a dragoman, since the Banū 'l-Kanz were Arabic speaking. The fact that at this particular time the Banū 'l-Kanz were in conflict with the Mamluk authorities in the region of Aswān[166] makes it still more improbable that Rukn al-Dīn Karanbas was one of their princes sent to Cairo in order to seek Mamluk assistance for them.

The victorious nephew ascended the throne of al-Muqurra, but did not stay long in Dunqula. Doubting the loyalty of his Arab supporters, he invited their chiefs

to a banquet, after which nineteen Arab chiefs, together with other notables, were burned alive. Then, in a surprise attack, he inflicted casualties on the Banū Ja'd, some of whom were slaughtered, while the rest fled for their lives.[167] Having committed this dishonourable performance, the king was in no position to defend his action nor to withstand an Arab attack. South of al-Daw the country was pestered by Beduins and to the north by the Banū 'l-Kanz and their allies the Banū 'Ikrima,[168] whose influence extended over the Aswān region, the desert of 'Aydhāb, and possibly even Sawākin.[169] They pillaged caravans and attacked travellers continually. Faced with these difficulties, the Nubians approached the sultan in 767/1365–6 asking for help to check the Arabs and to recover their lost domains, promising to pay a handsome tribute.[170]

The Mamluks wasted no time in sending a force of 3,000 horsemen under the *Ḥājib al-Ḥujjāb* or Chief Chamberlain, Aqtamir 'Abd al-Ghanī.[171] The expedition had three main objectives: to reinstate the Nubian King on his throne in Dunqula, to punish the Banū 'l-Kanz and their allies,[172] and to re-establish Mamluk influence in Nubia. At Qūṣ, the Mamluks persuaded the Banū 'l-Kanz to come to terms with the regime in Egypt. Willingly the Banū 'l-Kanz met the army near Idfū and paid homage to the Mamluk general, who bestowed on them robes of honour. For a fortnight the Mamluks were hard at work, seeking to navigate their boats across the first two cataracts. At this juncture the Arabs, probably the Banū 'Ikrima, decided to attack the Nubian king before the arrival of the Mamluks; however, they were unable to storm the castle of al-Daw, to which they laid siege. It appears—the text is obscure—that Aqtamir relieved the king, seized the local chief of the Banū 'l-Kanz and the chief of the Banū 'Ikrima, and then besieged the main Arab stronghold, the island of Mikhā'īl. In the ensuing

battle many Arabs were killed or drowned, while others managed to escape. Numbers of women and children were taken in captivity.[173]

The Mamluks did not advance any further, possibly distrusting the chaotic conditions now prevailing at Dunqula. Even the Nubian king himself realized that it would be better for him to remain where he was, since Dunqula was in ruins and the Banū Ja'd were still its masters. Aqtamir approved the king's decision to remain at al-Daw and the Mamluk forces went back to Egypt with numerous captives from the Banū 'l-Kanz and the Banū 'Ikrima. The king sent valuable gifts, including slaves, to the sultan.[174]

This is one of the last references to Nubian affairs at this time. Only on a later occasion (2 Muḥarram 800/25 September 1397) do we learn that King Nāṣir of Nubia (whose capital was not specified) visited the Mamluk sultan, asking for aid against his insubordinate cousin. The sultan received him with honour and ordered the governor of Aswān, al-Ṣārim Ibrāhīm al-Shihābī, to help him.[175] The fact that the local Mamluk force was harried by the Banū 'l-Kanz, who only a year before (798/1396) had attacked the governor of Aswān, compelling him to take refuge at the court of King Nāṣir,[176] would indicate that the Mamluks were in no position to offer much assistance. Nothing is heard of the Nubian kings of this period. It is doubtful if they ever succeeded in regaining control of Dunqula after their withdrawal. Most probably the country south of al-Daw remained in disorder, owing to the lack of a strong central government able to check the Arabs. Nearly a century later a European traveller, Brother Thomas, who was looking for a suitable route to Abyssinia, dismissed Nubia as an unfavourable land. He wrote ". . . on the way beyond the Nile going to the province of Nubi they are bad people, robbers, murderers, and most of all in the province of Nuba".[177]

6. *The disappearance of Nubian Christianity*

Seven hundred years after the first Muslim attack on Nubia the continued existence of Christianity in the country was in grave doubt. We have seen how the skilful Nubian archers stood gallantly in the path of the Arab invaders and how, in the end, they concluded with them the *Baqṭ* treaty, which remained the foundation of Muslim-Nubian relations right down to the last days of Christian Nubia. To the Tulunids, the Ikhshidids, and the Fatimids, Nubia and the lands beyond were a large market, from which large numbers of slaves were procured, mainly to fill the ranks of the Egyptian army. With the extinction of the Fatimid state this demand died away. The Ayyubid attack on Nubia was made primarily to acquire new territories which might become a retreat for the Ayyubids, if need arose. However, the poverty of Nubia dispelled such a hope. King Dāwūd's aggressive attacks on 'Aydhāb and Aswān forced the Mamluk sultans to adopt an offensive policy towards Nubia. The once skilful Nubian archers were no match for the professional Mamluk soldiers, reinforced by the Arab tribesmen. During these repeated campaigns many Nubians were killed, many took to flight, while others were carried off to Egypt as captives. The Nubian manpower was thus greatly weakened. Moreover, the royal family was no longer united; some of its members joined the invaders or sought to be installed by them on precarious thrones.

The end of Christian Nubia came at the hands of the Muslim Arabs, who had for centuries entered in small numbers from Upper Egypt. Al-Marīs was the first region to feel their impact. There, the Arab elements settled, intermarried with the local inhabitants and helped to spread Islam. By virtue of the matrilineal system of suc-

cession some of these Arabs inherited local chieftainships. The Banū 'l-Kanz indeed benefited greatly from this system and gradually became the virtual rulers of al-Marīs. In the end they married into the Nubian royal family and seized the Nubian throne.[178]

The slow migratory movement of the Arabs was intensified towards the end of the seventh/thirteenth century and continued for some two hundred years more. Large groups of Arab warriors, who had joined the Mamluk campaigns, remained in Nubia, while other Arabs drifted southward from Upper Egypt for the reasons mentioned earlier in this chapter. Some of these Arabs settled down at al-Muqurra, while others pushed still further to the south. Those who settled down repeated the process which was already at work in al-Marīs. Indeed their presence in large numbers undermined the authority of the already impoverished Nubian state and so helped the Banū 'l-Kanz in their bid for power.

The Christian kingdom of Nubia had virtually ceased to exist when Sayf al-Dīn 'Abdallāh Barshambū, the nephew of King Dāwūd, was raised to the throne by the Mamluk forces. King 'Abdallāh was the third in a series of Mamluk appointed kings, but he was the first Muslim amongst them. He marked his succession to the throne by converting into a mosque a two-storey church situated in the capital itself—an event commemorated in an inscription which conveys that the mosque was opened by Sayf al-Dīn 'Abdallāh al-Nāṣir[179] on 16 Rabī' 1, 717/29 May 1317.[180] This inscription is still to be found in the mosque of Dunqula. That such a fundamental change in the kingly office and the conversion of a church into a mosque was accepted without opposition is most significant. It is probable that there existed in Nubia by this time a large number of Muslims, who lent their support to the Muslim king. King 'Abdallāh's successor was none other than the Kanz al-Dawla, who belonged to an

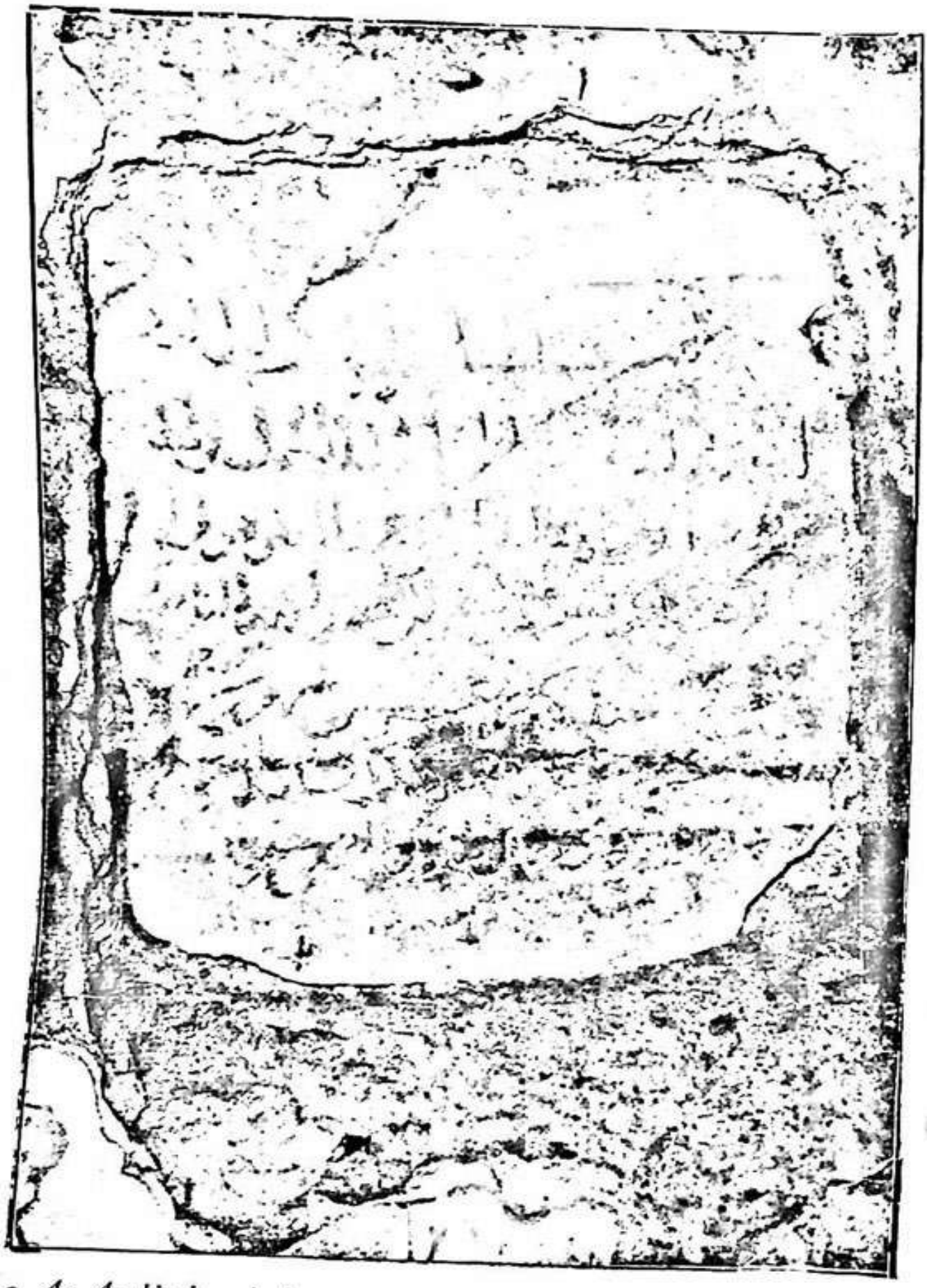
established royal clan, had married into the Nubian royal family and enjoyed the support of the Islamized Nubians and the Arab tribesmen.

During his second term of office King Karanbas was believed to have adopted Islam. Whether he was a Muslim or not is largely irrelevant, for he was soon dispossessed of the throne by the Kanz al-Dawla, who now assumed power more effectively than on an earlier occasion. This time he wore the crown and assumed the insignia of sovereignty. It is understandable that he made use of the Arabs to get rid of his enemies and to establish his authority more firmly.[181]

The Islamization of the kingly office was probably the gravest blow that the Christian faith had suffered yet. The king was the only person capable of inspiring his subjects and offering resistance to foreign invasion: both King Dāwūd and Shamāmūn had defied the Muslims, but were overcome in the course of the struggle. In the end, the royal house, split by internal dissension, was easily taken by the Muslims—an action which heralded the end of the Christian kingdom of Nubia. It does not mean however, that the Christian faith was completely eradicated.

Through the centuries of Muslim supremacy in the adjacent lands, the Christian faith had been gradually cut off from external stimulus and from reinvigorating spiritual guidance. The first turn of events for the worse occurred in the pontificate of the Patriarch Cyril (632/1235) when Christians in Egypt were subjected to a measure of persecution and after which, it seems, priests were no longer sent from Alexandria to Nubia as had formerly been the custom.[182] The Churches of Alexandria and Nubia became gradually dissociated. The persecution of Rajab 700/March 1301 to which Christians and Jews alike were subjected, reached as far as Nubia.[183] It is probable that, with the coming of the *'Urbān* who

1. *The Cathedral of Dunqula converted into a mosque by King Sayf al-Din ʿAbdallāh al-Nāṣir in 717/1317*



2. *An Arabic inscription commemorating the conversion of the Cathedral of Dunqula into a mosque on 16 Rabi' 717/29 May 1317*

caused much disorder and destruction, numerous churches were looted.[184]

None the less, Nubian pilgrims were to be noticed in Palestine as late as the eighth/fourteenth century and ninth/fifteenth centuries. Ludolph von Suchen (*c.* 715/1315) reports that the Nubians possessed, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a chapel known as the Chapel of the Nubians.[185] Soon, however, possession of it passed to the Armenians and a century later to the Georgians.[186] Again in about 885/1480 Felix Fabri saw Nubians holding services at the Church of the Lord's Ascension in Galilee.[187]

Though enfeebled and defenceless, the Christian faith lingered on, but it could not withstand the impact of a vigorous Islam, sustained by the influx of marauding Arab tribesmen.

The role of these Arabs and of their depredations is admirably summarized and explained by a contemporary historian, whose deep insight into Muslim history and whose expert knowledge of the rapacious behaviour of Arab tribesmen in North Africa gives his judgment special value. Ibn Khaldūn writes:[188]

> At their [the Nubians'] conversion [to Islaṃ] payment of *Jiẓya* ceased. Then several clans of the Arab tribe of Juhayna[189] dispersed throughout their country and settled there. They assumed power and filled the land with disorder and chaos. The kings of Nubia, at first, tried to drive them out by force. They failed, so they changed their tactics and tried to win them over by offering their daughters in marriage. Thus it was that their kingdom disintegrated, for it passed to the sons of the Juhayna from their Nubian mothers in accordance with the non-Arab[190] practice of inheritance by the sister and her sons. So their kingdom fell to pieces and their country was inherited by the Arabs of the Juhayna. But their rule

> was inevitably lacking in statesmanship,[191] because of their essential defect, which denied the subordination of one man to another. Consequently they have been divided to this day and there is no trace of central authority in their part of the country. They remain nomads, following the rainfall like the Beduins. And there remains no trace of central authority[192] in their lands because of the change wrought in them by the influence of Arab beduinization through intermarriage and alliance.[193]

7. *The fall of 'Alwa*

The fall of Nubia opened the gates for the Arab nomads to reach the rich pastures beyond the Nubian desert. It is remarkable that there is little in the sources about the manner in which the Arabs overran 'Alwa. For two centuries after the fall of Dunqula there is a "Dark Age" in the history of the Sudan, after which time the story is taken up by local traditions. However, the apparent ease with which the primitive Arab tribesmen penetrated and occupied the more accessible regions of 'Alwa, except for the central part around Sōba itself, by the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century, implies that they did not meet with serious resistance. The process of Arab penetration into 'Alwa must have resembled that of their forerunners in al-Marīs and al-Muqurra: in the settled regions the Arabs intermarried with the families of the local chieftains and inhabitants and through the process of matrilineal succession soon gained control of the people and their territories. The vast and sparsely populated tracts of pasture land were large enough to sustain thousands of Arab nomads. Even here, however, a considerable measure of intermixture took place.

The immigrants did not come in the form of invading hordes but in successive small parties of peaceful nomads.

Although the general pattern of this infiltration was probably a peaceful one, the eventual appearance of local clashes and of tribal warfare was inevitable. In their attempts to control the pasture lands, the nomads might conceivably have driven out the original stock or raided the rich riverain lands. In any case their presence in the kingdom of 'Alwa must have exerted pressure on the government—a pressure about which very little is known. The state of 'Alwa was at first capable of defending itself and of forcing small bands of Arabs to respect its authority. However, with the increase in the numbers of Arab immigrants and with the formation of large tribal associations, the balance was drastically upset, to the detriment of the state. This change took place at a time when 'Alwa was already apparently in full decline.

Prior to the early days of the Mamluk sultanate, the Muslim impact on 'Alwa was felt only in the commercial transactions that flourished between 'Alwa and the Muslim world.[194] With the increasing Mamluk pressure against Nubia, Muslim influence became more deeply felt and its strength more clearly realized. The first Mamluk campaign against Nubia made such an impact that in his alarm, King Adur, the ruler of al-Abwāb, sent back King Dāwūd of Nubia who had taken refuge in his country in 675/1275.[195] In an attempt to please the Mamluk sultans and to win their goodwill the rulers of al-Abwāb on several occasions hunted down fleeing Nubian princes.[196] Strangely enough, however, there is hardly any mention of Sōba in the contemporary sources.

In a letter dated Ramaḍān 685/October 1286 King Adur promised complete submission to the sultan and complained of the unfriendly attitude of the King of Dunqula.[197] On 20 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 685/8 February 1287 the sultan sent two ambassadors to al-Muqurra and 'Alwa to investigate the matter. 'Alm al-Dīn Sanjar visited the

ruler of al-Abwāb and the governors of Danfū, Arī, Nafāl,[198] Karsā, al-Tāka, Bāra, al-Kadarū, and al-Anaj.[199] These names have not yet been identified with precision: the Karsā were a naked people who lived beyond ʿAlwa.[200] Al-Tāka, al-Kadarū, and Bāra were probably the places bearing the same names today. The Anaj were the inhabitants of the Gezira.[201] The result of this complaint by King Adur does not concern us here. Yet the whole incident shows the implicit submission of the King of ʿAlwa to the Mamluk authorities.

In 689/1290, after another Mamluk intervention in Nubia, the King of al-Abwāb sent a letter regretting his failure to appear in person, as he was engaged in pursuing "King" Anny, possibly a local chief from al-Muqurra. He also reported that he was in conflict with a foreign king, who had invaded the country of the Anaj. "Once successful", he added, "the whole *Bilād al-Sūdān* would be under the authority of the sultan.[202] *Bilād al-Sūdān* would mean here probably no more than the country of ʿAlwa. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir did not state who this enemy was. The fact that the attack was directed against the Anaj indicates clearly that the invaders came from the southern region of the Gezira. It seems unlikely that the invaders were from Kānim, as Arkell suggests.[203] Kānim was quite far off and therefore did not constitute an immediate danger. If it did, the rulers of ʿAlwa would have stated explicitly that they were attacked by the Muslim rulers of Kānim and would have asked the sultan to intervene and stop them. This was not the case. These invaders were, I would hazard, the ancestors of the Funj.[204] Whatever the origin of this enemy, one thing is certain: the southern region of ʿAlwa was subjected, like the northern part, to external attacks.

One of the great dangers that faced ʿAlwa was the threat from its northern neighbours, the inhabitants of al-Muqurra, who came to collect slaves, probably for the

purpose of paying the *Baqt*.[205] 'Alwa was also one of the areas frequented by Muslim slave traders. As a result of this traffic, 'Alwa no doubt lost large numbers of its inhabitants, which must in the end have affected its chances of withstanding the Arab immigrants.[206]

As in al-Muqurra so too in 'Alwa, the church played an important role in the kingdom. The church in 'Alwa was isolated by the surrounding Muslim states and was thus hindered from receiving effective Christian guidance. The only remaining link with the Christian church elsewhere was severed by the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century, after which time no further priests were sent by the Patriarchs of Alexandria to the Christian kingdoms of the Sudan. Deprived of the guidance of the Mother Church and exposed to the growing influence of the Muslim faith, the Christian Church of 'Alwa gradually withered away.

The state of the Christian Church in 'Alwa can be inferred to some extent from an account given by the Portuguese traveller, Alvares.[207] Alvares states on the authority of a certain John of Syria,[208] who visited 'Alwa at some time before 1520, that there were still one hundred and fifty churches in that country;[209] whereas in the time of Abū Ṣāliḥ (*c.* 600/1203) there were no less than four hundred churches.[210] While Alvares was still at the Abyssinian court, a mission of six men came from 'Alwa and asked the Abyssinians to supply them with priests to teach them. In support of their request they stated that long ago they used to receive priests from Alexandria,[211] but, since the last bishop had died and because of the "wars of the Moors" (presumably of the Arabs in al-Muqurra and 'Alwa itself), none had come. The Abyssinians could give no assistance, as they received their own priests from the Patriarchs of Alexandria. According to John of Syria, the people were so lacking in Christian instruction that they "are neither Christians, Moors,

nor Jews; and that they live in the desire of being Christians".[212]

The weakening of the church and the loss of its vitality was but one aspect of a general decline of the kingdom of 'Alwa, the internal causes of which are not yet known. The decline might have been caused, first, by the repeated exportation of slaves, and secondly by the strain on the government resources brought about by efforts to ward off the attacks of the tribes from the south and to control the marauding Arab tribes. By the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century, 'Alwa had proved quite powerless to check the Arab tribes, who had gradually overrun its outer provinces and then pressed against the central area of the kingdom. The Arabs began to settle in the land adjacent to the Blue and White Niles—near Sōba. This settlement extended into the Gezira, probably at least as far as the town of 'Arbajī.[213]

8. *The 'Abdallāb and the Funj*

There is a vigorous tradition—and as such it is worthy of note—that Sōba succumbed under the hard pressure of the Arab tribesmen. Encouraged by the weakness of the kingdom and by the superiority of their own numbers, the Arabs decided to put their weight against the feeble capital, Sōba. Contrary to what is commonly believed, this process was not the combined work of the Funj and the Arabs, but of the Arabs alone.[214] The movement was led by a certain 'Abdallāh of the Qawāsima, a branch of the Rufā'a Arabs.

The 'Abdallāb[215] tradition claims that 'Abdallāh, nicknamed Jammā' or gatherer, invited the Arab tribesmen of the Sudan to act together against the tyranny, or *ẓulm*, of the 'Anaj kings.[216] Although the words 'Anaj and *Nūba* are often used indiscriminately in Sudanese Arabic writings, the word 'Anaj clearly refers to the inhabitants of

'Alwa. The *ẓulm*, or tyranny, that provoked the Arabs, points to two distinct motives: in the technical sense, it refers to a normal Muslim reaction against being ruled by Christians, that is the kings of 'Alwa; in the general sense, it was probably no more than a reaction against the government's demands that the Arabs pay taxes and obey the laws of 'Alwa—the same motive that induced the Arabs to flee from the oppressive rules of the Mamluks. The Arabs gathered in large numbers and attacked the 'Anaj kings of 'Alwa. After several engagements they killed the king and emerged victorious.[217] There is no mention in this historical legend of Funj participation in these events. It was the 'Abdallāb who inherited "the bejewelled crown of the 'Anaj Kings" rather than the Funj.[218]

'Abdallāh Jammā' did not administer the affairs of the new regime from Sōba, whether from fear of resurgence of the old kingdom or from the mere fact that Sōba had been utterly destroyed is not clear. Indeed, when David Reubeni[219] passed by in 930/1523, that town was already in ruins.[220] The choice of Qarrī as the capital was probably determined at the time when the Arabs were gathering in large numbers under Jabal al-Rawyān to attack Sōba.[221] It was accessible to the Arabs of the Buṭāna and controlled movements along the Nile Valley and across the river to the western bank.

Thus by the end of the ninth/fifteenth century the Arabs had become the rulers of the kingdom of 'Alwa. However, by the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century they had to contend with a formidable enemy. The Funj were recent immigrants, pushing northwards down the Blue Nile. Their remote origin is an open question. Indeed the sudden appearance of this group is shrouded in obscurity. The lack of contemporary records adds to the difficulty of the problem. The Funj are derived by modern writers either from the Shilluk, that is, from the

people of the Upper White Nile region,[222] or from the region of Bornu,[223] or from northern Abyssinia.[224] The two migratory movements—the Arabs and the Funj—clashed, probably in competition over pasture in the southern region of the Gezira. At 'Arbajī (*c.* 910/1504) the Funj reduced the 'Abdallābī chiefs to the position of viceroys[225]—although their hegemony at times was disputed. In theory this high-kingship of the Funj lasted down to the Turco-Egyptian conquest of 1820.

Having asserted their suzerainty over the Arab territories, the Funj victors ruled the kingdom from Sinnār, which came to be the dynastic capital and the seat of government. The extent of the Funj domains is difficult to decide. The Ottoman conquerors of Egypt (923/1517), like the Mamluks before them, soon clashed with their southern neighbours and subsequently annexed northern Nubia as far as the third cataract, making this region a frontier province against the Funj kingdom. The coastal region between Sawākin and Maṣawwa' also became part of the Ottoman Empire as the province of Habeş. The Funj territories were therefore bordered by the Ottomans on the north and the east.[226] The Funj expansion into the region west of Sinnār was a later undertaking. What was left formed more or less the territories of al-Muqurra, 'Alwa and the Beja, which from the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century became united under the Funj hegemony. This unity led to a measure of political stability that, under the Islamized Funj in partnership with the 'Abdallāb Arabs, had a profound influence on the spread of Islam and the growth of Arab prestige in the Sudan.

(5)

THE ARABIZATION OF THE PEOPLES OF THE SUDAN

THE creation of a culturally Arabized stock in the Sudan was the direct result of the penetration of large numbers of Arab tribesmen over a long period of time. The manner in which these immigrants were distributed, the routes that they followed and the large groups into which they were divided, will form the theme of this chapter. Unfortunately we know remarkably little of the way in which Arabization was accomplished. The whole of our knowledge is derived from two different types of sources: the first, a limited number of contemporary medieval Arabic writings and the second, a large body of Sudanese genealogical traditions which in their present form were compiled at a much later date.

The genealogical traditions which are now current in the northern Sudan and which have been current as far back as evidence goes, that is for two or three centuries past, indicate a high degree of Arabization. This is implied by the almost total adoption of Arab genealogies by the inhabitants of the Sudan. This, at least, establishes that they were thoroughly Arabized. However, any conclusions that are drawn from these genealogies as to tribal origin, must be accepted with some reserve.

During the seven centuries that preceded the fall of Sōba, the Arabs had drifted into the Sudan mostly in small parties coming from different tribes, rather than in the form of large groups of different tribal entities. However,

even in these tribes there was already a measure of intermixture; thus the designation of a group by the name of a tribe, for example Rabī'a or Juhayna, need not imply that all the members of the group belonged to that particular tribe. This derives from the fluid composition of the tribes which were constantly affected by the formation of new alliances, the arrival of new members of other tribes, and the adoption of different names or even change of habitat. Such trends were most marked in the various stages of Arab penetration before the tribal units of the tenth/sixteenth century (and after) had emerged. Indeed names of tribes known to have entered the Sudan, like the Rabī'a and the Banū Ja'd, have disappeared; others like the Fazāra existed as late as the nineteenth century. The Juhayna continued to prosper as a tribe, while new groups such as the Ja'aliyyīn emerged. The amorphous character of tribal structure and tradition coupled with the relatively peaceful nature of the Arab penetration and the vastness of the country, goes a long way to explain the absence of named Arab leaders in contemporary writings or traditions.

Nearly all the tribes of the Sudan are classified by genealogists under four groups. The first group is the Ja'aliyyīn who incorporate the Arabized riverain dwellers. The second, the Juhayna, includes the Arabs of that name and other groups who tended to attach themselves to the Juhayna and became related to them by tracing their relations back to a mythical or semi-mythical common ancestry. The term Juhayna lost its true meaning and came to mean virtually Arab; it included practically all the nomads. Among these two large groups were scattered the Ashrāf (singular, Sharīf) claiming descent from the Prophet, who were found mostly in small groups. The fourth group is the Umayyads. However, to show the routes through which the Arabs progressed to the interior, references to Arabization will follow a geographical

pattern. Having noted the main points it remains to discuss them in detail.

1. *The Arabs and the Beja*

The Beja country was probably the first region to feel the impact of the Arabs in large numbers. It has been shown how tribesmen from the Muḍar, the Juhayna, the Rabīʿa and the Saʿd al-ʿAshīra exploited the mines and how the Rabīʿa intermarried with the Ḥadāriba and extended their influence over much of the northerr. Beja land including ʿAydhāb. Other Arabs of the Baliyy and the Dughaym were engaged in transporting pilgrims and merchandise between ʿAydhāb and the Nile.[1] These profitable activities undoubtedly attracted more Arabs, many of whom had come from Egypt, while others had come across the Red Sea.[2] The decline of these lucrative operations left many Arabs without livelihood and they moved away into the interior.

Many of the discontented Arabs in Egypt, also, gradually advanced into the Beja country where there was, unlike Nubia, no obstacle to stop them. Most of these immigrants were probably searching for pasture. However, the northern Beja plains are not rich in pasture and the immigrants had to move on to the richer plains of the central Sudan. Although the majority of these Arabs were not attracted by the Beja country, there is evidence that quite a number of them did at least settle there for some time before moving on, while others intermarried and mixed with the Beja.

Of the first type were the Banū Hilāl who according to al-Ḥamadānī spread from Upper Egypt as far as ʿAydhāb.[3] Ibn Khaldūn reports that large groups of the descendants of the Quḍāʿa, for example the Juhayna and the Balliyy,[4] who were living in the region between Yanbuʿ, Yathrīb, and Ayla, had crossed the Red Sea[5] and spread over the

country between Upper Egypt and Abyssinia. There, their numbers multiplied, until they were able to defeat the Nubians. They also fought the Abyssinians[6] and consistently overwhelmed them right up to his own times.[7] Indeed the Juhayna formed the largest group of Arabs in Upper Egypt and together with the Baliyy they had to vacate their land in Upper Egypt to the Quraysh in the Fatimid period.[8] Furthermore they are frequently mentioned by al-Yaʿqūbī as having worked the mines.[9] In 680/1281 the Juhayna were reported fighting the Rifāʿa in the desert of Sawākin.[10] Fifty years later Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the Banū Kāhil and some of the Juhayna in the service of the ruler of Sawākin as warriors.[11]

The best example of Arab intermixing with the Beja was that of the Rabīʿa and their allies who intermarried extensively with the Ḥadāriba. Indeed by the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century the Arab influence was so predominant among the Ḥadāriba that Ibn Faḍl Allāh called them Arabs.[12] He added that their chief Samra b. Mālik was a powerful ruler of the region above (that is, the south-east) Aswān and that he raided the Abyssinians, probably meaning the Beja and other *Sūdān*, who may have been the inhabitants of ʿAlwa. When Samra visited the Mamluk court, the sultan[13] bestowed great honours on him and wrote to his governors in Upper Egypt and the Arabs to assist him in his campaigns. The sultan also appointed Samra as a chief of all the Arabs south of Qūṣ and agreed to bestow on him all the land that he conquered.[14] By the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century, the Ḥadāriba were to be found in the vicinity of Sawākin. In the same region Ibn Baṭṭuṭa encountered a camp of Arabs, the Banū Kāhil, who had mingled with the Beja and spoke their language. At the same time he spoke of the Sharīfī rulers of Sawākin who had also intermarried with the Beja.[15]

After centuries of close contact, the Arab impact was

reflected in three forms: the imperfect Islamization of the Beja, the infusion of Arabic words in Tu-Bedawie language,[16] and the adoption of Arab genealogies by the Beja tribes. Although the adoption of Arabic words and Arab genealogies cannot be dated with any precision, it is reasonable to assume that it took place in the heyday of mining activities and the passage of pilgrim and trade routes.

The ubiquitous Arab ancestry of the Beja, though highly pretentious and difficult to establish, cannot in every case altogether be dismissed as fictitious. The Beja, like most of the inhabitants of the Sudan, pride themselves as the descendants of the early Arab conquerors who introduced Islam into the country. Indeed by virtue of matrilineal inheritance, some of the Beja rulers, at least, were Arabs, and because of these groups the whole set of tribes assumed that Arab lineage. However, their numbers were not large enough to transform the inhabitants into an Arabic speaking population.[17] On the contrary the Beja have always succeeded in absorbing small bands of Arab immigrants who settled among them and in time adopted the Bejāwī language and customs. Moreover, the limited grazing of the Beja country did not attract many Arabs to settle there, and the majority passed through to the interior.[18] The presence of this trace of Arab blood, the sharing of common grazing *dār* or territory, and the sameness of way of life and religion, gave rise to tribal affinity which was expressed by the adoption of an eponymous Arab ancestor by a tribe or one group of Beja tribes.

However, although the authenticity of the Beja lineage is highly suspect, one may find in some a nucleus of genuine tribal memory, arising from intermarriage with the Arabs. As space does not permit a detailed analysis of each tradition, three examples will serve to illustrate this point.

Two of the Beja tribes, the Bishāriyyīn and the Amar'ar,

claim descent from a certain Kāhil, a descendant of al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, a companion and cousin of the Prophet.[19] The same ancestry, through a certain 'Abbād, is claimed by their northern neighbours the 'Abābda,[20] who had largely mixed with the Arabs. Tradition claims that 'Abbād was buried near Idfū. The last claim is indirectly attested by al-Ḥamadānī who states that a group of the Banū 'l-Zubayr lived in Upper Egypt.[21] The 'Abābda of Shandī told Burckhardt that they, together with the 'Abābda of Egypt were descended from a certain Salmān, an Arab of the Banū Hilāl.[22] The two traditions are perhaps not incompatible: they simply mean that the 'Abābda were a mixed tribe. Indeed the frontier between Egypt, Nubia, and the Beja country together with the Land of the Mines, witnessed intensive movements and intermingling of Arab tribes well before they advanced to the pastoral plains.

It was in the present habitat of the Bishāriyyīn and the Amar'ar that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa encountered a group of the Banū Kāhil Arabs who had already mingled with the Beja;[23] but he does not say who they were. There is mention of two groups called Banū Kāhil in the sources, neither of which were related to Banū 'l-Zubayr as the Beja and the Kawāhila traditions claim.[24] The first is a clan of 'Udhra b. Sa'd b. Quḍā'a, a group of which lived near Damietta in the times of al-Ḥamadānī,[25] the second is a clan of the Khuzayma, a group of which had probably migrated together with their relations,[26] the Rabī'a, to the Land of the Mines. When the mines were exhausted the Banū Kāhil joined with other Arabs and were thus dispersed; the majority advanced slowly to the Gezira while some settled among the Beja. The survival of the Zubayrī pedigree among the 'Abābda, the Kawāhla, the Bishāriyyīn and the Amar'ar[27] indicates that there was a strong Arab element among these tribes.[28] It is therefore possible to assume that the Banū Kāhil were joined by a

small number of the Banū 'l-Zubayr whom the respective tribes preferred to adopt as their forefathers. The proximity of the genesis of these tribes before they left the "Land of the Mines" may explain how this was achieved.

The second Bejāwī tradition relates that because of the oppressive policy of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, probably during his campaigns against 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, a group of the Hawāzin crossed the Red Sea and settled near Maṣawwa', opposite Dahlak. However, after settling for about two centuries in the Abyssinian highlands some of the immigrants were compelled to leave owing to the exacting demands of the Abyssinians. When the Hawāzin reached Kasala they were called the Ḥalanqa. According to the Ḥalanqa tribal legends, the Hawāzin were horse owners and always carried whips which the Abyssinians called in Amharic *Halenka*, a name by which they were ever afterwards known.[29] This is perhaps a fable to explain this curious and incomprehensible name. Indeed, when a Mamluk expedition clashed with the Ḥalanqa in 717/1317 they described them as a people of the *Sūdān* and not as Arabs or Muslims.[30] Nevertheless this legend might be a vague memory of a genuine Arab migration across Abyssinia, which though rare is not impossible. The island of Dahlak had been frequented by Arabs since the early days of Islam; some of them had penetrated inland and had given rise to a number of Muslim principalities on the African coast.[31] However, the majority of the immigrants, like the Hawāzin, were soon absorbed into the indigenous population.

It may be noted that the Abyssinian route was used by other Arabs, one tribe of whom was related to the Hawāzin: the Ḥamrān, who lived in the foothills of Abyssinia—between the Setit and the Atbara rivers—are according to one tradition, descendants of the Banū Ḥarb of Hawāzin who came over from the Hijaz,[32] through Abyssinia, as the result of a quarrel with the

Muzayna.[33] The Gharaysiyya branch of the Ḥamar of Kordofan, although using an identical camel-branding mark, the *Shabūl*, claim Himyarite origin.[34] They migrated from the Yemen in the time of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and settled at first in the Tākā region, from which they continued their trek until they reached Kordofan.[35]

The third tradition refers to the migration to the region of Sawākin, probably for reasons of trade, of individuals, who intermarried with the Beja. From the descendants of such individuals a number of clans have arisen: the Artayqa, Ḥasanāb, Kimalāb, and Ashrāf.[36] The Artayqa,[37] for example, claim that their ancestor, Bā Ṣaffār, moved during the ninth/fifteenth century[38] from Ḥaḍramawt to Sawākin, where he took a Bejāwī or a Balū wife.[39] Benefiting from the trading prospects of Sawākin, the resourceful descendants of Bā Ṣaffār were able to gain an important position in Sawākin among the Beja. The success of such families was equally sustained by the sporadic arrival of people from across the sea or from the north, such as the Ḥadāriba after the destruction of 'Aydhāb.

By and large the Beja country had served as a highway through which many Arab tribesmen passed either from Egypt, or directly across the Red Sea on their way to the Nile. In the course of these slow journeys the Arab tribesmen had adopted the Tu-Bedawie suffix *ab* meaning family or clan, which appears in names of most of the Arabic-speaking clans who came from this direction and the majority of whom remained east of the Nile.[40]

2. *The Arabs among the Nubians north of Dunqula*

Long before the disintegration of the kingdom of Nubia, intermarriage between the Arabs and the Nubians took place particularly in al-Maris. The first to settle in that region were probably the Banū 'l-Kanz who, in time,

were hardly distinguishable from the Nubians, whom they addressed in their own language. The same process was repeated in al-Muqurra with the increasingly frequent Mamluk campaigns which were accompanied and followed by considerable numbers of Arab tribesmen. Unfortunately only a few names of these tribes were preserved in the sources, such as the Banū Abī Bakr, the Banū 'Umar, the Banū Hilāl, the Banū Shaybān, the Banū Sharīf, the Banū 'l-Kanz, the Banū 'Ikrima, the Banū Ja'd, and the Juhayna.[41] Most of these names are no longer heard of in tribal traditions. It seems, however, that most of the immigrants were attracted neither by the Nubian deserts nor by the narrow strip of cultivable lands along the river. They trekked on further. The number of those who intermingled with the Nubians north of Dunqula could not have been large enough to transform the inhabitants into an Arabic-speaking population. Those who settled down had to learn about farming techniques and had to acquire the language of the sedentary farmers, which was essentially Nubian; and soon they lost their identity. However, owing to the settlement or the passage of large numbers of Arabs, among other factors, Islam gradually superseded Christianity and some of the inhabitants adopted Arab genealogies. Among these were the Kunūz, the Maḥas, and the Jawābira.

The Kunūz or the Banū 'l-Kanz's claim has already been established.[42] The Maḥas who lived between the Second and the Third Cataracts, like other Nubians, received their quota of Arab settlers. Some of their descendants still retaining the same name moved up the river and settled on Tūtī Island and the banks of the Blue Nile near Sōba, where they practised farming. The exact date of their migration is not known but they seem to have occupied the same region long before any other Arab tribe lived in their neighbourhood. The Maḥas claimed descent from the Juhayna according to one

tradition and from the Khazraj according to another. The Juhayna version put Maḥasī[43] or 'Abd al-'Azīz Maḥasī[44] as one of ten brothers, all sons of Dhubyān and ultimately connected with the Juhayna. This chain of ancestors is perhaps fictitious—a point that will be taken up later. The very name Maḥas, which is not Arabic, is problematic. It was explained by the story that whenever Maḥasī's father wanted him, his mother would answer *mā ḥasa*—"he has not awakened". This story, a common type of etymological legend, did not satisfy another compiler, who called him 'Abd al-Azīz Maḥasin or Muḥsin;[45] just by adding the *n* to Maḥasī he made it sound more Arabic.

The Khazraj version alleges that the Maḥas are descendants of 'Ubāda b. Abī Ka'b al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī,[46] who migrated during the campaign of 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd.[47] It has been established above that the Nubians were able to withstand the Muslim invasion of 31/652 and did not allow Arabs to take up permanent abode there. Furthermore, although there were some Anṣār in Upper Egypt, the Khazraj were not named among them.[48] Yet in 767/1365–6 the Banū 'Ikrīma, a branch of the Aws Anṣār, were the chiefs of the region around the island of Mikhā'īl which lies in the Maḥas country.[49] They might have included some Khazraj. One thing is certain, that the Juhayna and a sub-tribe of the Anṣār, the 'Ikrima, had once lived in the land of the Maḥas.

South of the Maḥas were the Jawābira, reputed to be the descendants of Jābir b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī,[50] who begot them after the siege of Dunqula in the time of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.[51] This tradition perhaps refers to an invasion in Mamluk times, when large numbers of Arabs accompanied the forces to Dunqula. The Jawābira were indeed a section of the Banū 'Ikrima[52] just mentioned. Al-Qalqashandī refers to correspondence in 769/1367 between the Mamluk Sultan and Shaykh Junayd, the chief of the Jawābira Arabs who lived on the fringes of Nubia.[53]

South of the Jawābira *Dār*, as far as Dunqula, claims of Arab descent were by no means lacking, although the inhabitants continued to speak a Nubian dialect.

It was through the Bejāwī and Nubian-speaking regions that the majority of the Arabs penetrated into the Kingdom of 'Alwa. From the Beja country they moved to the middle region of the Nile, the Buṭāna, or the island of Meroe, and the Gezira. From the neighbourhood of Dunqula they advanced to Kordofan and Dār Fūr.

3. *The Arabized Nubians or Ja'aliyyīn*

It is almost certain that long before the fall of Dunqula, bands of Arab tribesmen had infiltrated into the Middle Nile region between the bend of the Nile at Abū Ḥamad and the Sabalōqa Gorge.[54] These bands, like later Arabs who peopled the country east of the Nile, the Buṭāna and the Gezira, followed two principal routes. The first started from Upper Egypt or the Land of the Mines and travelled through the 'Atmūr desert as far as Abū Ḥamad, deliberately avoiding the restrictions imposed by the kingdom of Nubia. Thence the immigrants moved up the Nile or down the river until they were met by the migratory wave that followed the Mamluk conquest of Dunqula. The second route actually comprised a number of variable tracks that radiated from the Beja country towards the Middle Nile region, the Buṭāna and ultimately the Gezira.

Happily for the immigrants the Middle Nile region lay far from the immediate control of the central governments at Sōba and Dunqula. One suspects that the latter, while particularly busy watching the impending Muslim danger on the northern border, neglected the affairs of the less fertile lands south of the Fourth Cataract. Indeed, it is not surprising that this region was raided by al-'Umarī as early as 255/868–9.[55] Although finally he was expelled,

al-'Umarī's successful penetration into Shunqayr had undoubtedly shown the way for other Arabs to follow, particularly after the decline of the mines, which began as early as the sixth/twelfth century. On the other hand the kingdom of 'Alwa did not realize the potential Muslim danger. Even when the Mamluks assumed a more direct role in Nubian affairs and their armies penetrated as far as the southern border of al-Muqurra, the ruler of al-Abwāb tried to ingratiate himself with the Mamluks. All these factors may suggest why the earliest immigrants seemed to have chosen this region, which also offered the alternatives of sedentary life on the river banks or a nomadic existence on the adjacent *khōrs*. On the other hand sheer superiority of numbors and the long-standing contacts between the immigrants and the Nubian people may explain why this region came to be considered as one of the most Arabized parts of the country.

This region had through many centuries absorbed parties of peaceful immigrants who gradually settled, intermarried with the original inhabitants, and acquired a measure of ascendancy over them. This pattern of peaceful infiltration did not apparently cause much anxiety to the governments concerned and in time produced a blend of the two elements: the Arabized Nubians or the Ja'aliyyīn, according to genealogists.

The term Ja'aliyyīn is used in Sudanese Arabic traditions both in a general and in a restricted sense: the former includes all the riverain dwellers between Dunqula and the Sixth Cataract, the latter is restricted to the Ja'aliyyīn proper who live between the confluence of the Atbara and the Nile and the Sabalōqa Gorge.[56]

The Ja'alī tribes claim descent from al-'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, through their eponymous ancestor Ibrāhīm Ja'al. The prevalence of the 'Abbāsī-Qurayshite claim among the Ja'alī group is difficult to substantiate. Though it is stated in Medieval Arabic sources that

groups of Quraysh from the Banū Umayya, the Banū 'Umar, and the Banū Abī Bakr had entered the Sudan, there is no mention of an 'Abbāsī migration. Nevertheless, the coming of individual 'Abbāsīs is not a remote possibility. Admitting that some 'Abbāsīs might have entered, their numbers could not have been large enough to transform all the dwellers of that region into a group of closely connected tribes claiming the same ancestry.

One Ja'alī tradition claims that the ancestors of Ibrāhīm Ja'al had migrated to the oases west of Egypt, because of a war between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim. This probably refers to the Second Civil War. From there, they marched to Dunqula and overwhelmed the Juhayna who had already established themselves over Dunqula and Barbar.[57] Thus the Juhayna became subjects of Ja'al. There is no evidence that the Banū Hāshim fled to the west because of enmity with the Umayyads. Another tradition states that when the Fatimids conquered Egypt (in 398/969) the 'Abbāsīs fled into the Sudan.[58] This tradition though not substantiated by Arabic sources is a reasonable assumption. A close look at the following 'Abbāsī-Ja'alī pedigree, which is probably the oldest and the commonest form, may reveal some clues:

'Adnān
|
Quṣay[59]
|
'Abd Munāf
|
Hāshim — 'Abd Shams[60]
|
'Abd al-Muṭṭalib
|
Al-'Abbās
|
'Abdallāh
|

al-Faḍl

Sa'd al-Anṣāri

Ḥimyar*[61]

Dh'l-Kilā'*

Yāṭil[62]

Hāṭil

Kirab

Quṣāṣ

'Adī

Khazraj*

Yaman*

Qays

Idrīs

Ibrāhīm Ja'al[63]

Muḥammad al-Yamānī*[64]

Aḥmad al-Ḥijāzī

Masrūq

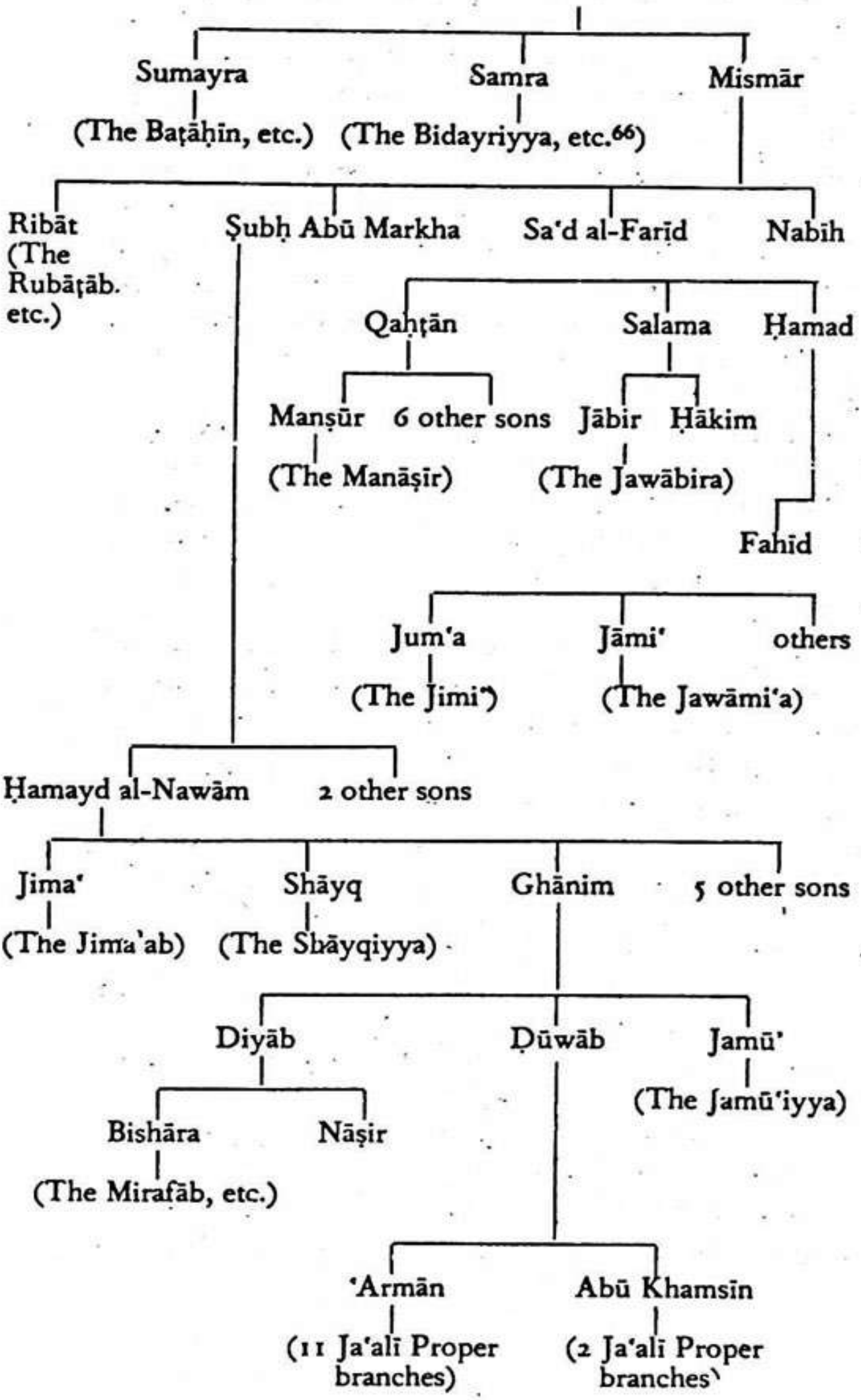
Ḥarqān

Quḍā'a*[65]

Abū'l-Dīs

Ḥasan Kardam

9 other sons | Sarār


Sumayra
Samra
Mismār
(The Baṭāḥīn, etc.)
(The Bidayriyya, etc.66)
Ribāt (The Rubāṭāb. etc.)
Ṣubḥ Abū Markha
Sa'd al-Farīd
Nabīh
Qaḥṭān
Salama
Ḥamad
Manṣūr
6 other sons
Jābir
Ḥākim
(The Manāṣīr)
(The Jawābira)
Fahīd
Jum'a
Jāmi'
others
(The Jimi')
(The Jawāmi'a)
Ḥamayd al-Nawām
2 other sons
Jima'
Shāyq
Ghānim
5 other sons
(The Jima'ab)
(The Shāyqiyya)
Diyāb
Ḍūwāb
Jamū'
(The Jamū'iyya)
Bishāra
Nāṣir
(The Mirafāb, etc.)
'Armān
Abū Khamsīn
(11 Ja'alī Proper branches)
(2 Ja'alī Proper branches)

Another version does not mention the names between Ibrāhīm Ja'al and Sa'd al-Anṣārī, and consequently there are too few generations between al-'Abbās and Ibrāhīm Ja'al.[67] In other words, the latter could not have possibly lived in the third/ninth century, which is obviously wrong. Faced with the presence of non-Arabic names and many Ḥimyaritic names[68] in an 'Abbāsī pedigree, the compiler of the latter version decided to do without them. The preponderance of Ḥimyaritic names among the forebears of Ibrāhīm Ja'al, if not fictitious, is at least indicative of the presence of Himyarite affinities in his ancestry. We are therefore only certain of the names immediately after al-'Abbās.

In the second section of this genealogy, beginning with Ibrāhīm Ja'al, MacMichael has shown that 'Armān and Abū Khamsīn, the ancestors of the Ja'aliyyīn proper, probably lived at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century[69] which corresponds roughly with the time at which al-Samarqandī is traditionally believed to have recorded tribal traditions.[70] It would therefore be reasonable to assume that tribal memory about the immediate ancestor of 'Armān is more reliable than about the distant forefathers of Ibrāhīm Ja'al, and hence can assist in deciding the approximate time at which Ibrāhīm was living. Allowing about thirty years for each of the thirteen[71] generations that separate 'Armān from Ibrāhīm Ja'al would give an approximate date in the early decades of the sixth/twelfth century. Admitting that this is no more than a guess, Ibrāhīm could not have lived at such an early date because his epithet, Ja'al, presupposes that large numbers of Arabs had peopled the region. This could not have happened much before the seventh/thirteenth century when the factors that stimulated Arab penetration were in full operation.

The name Ja'al, though rare, is by no means unknown in Arabic sources. It occurs as a name of three different

Arab clans, the first was the Jiʿāl[72] b. Rabīʿa to whom the Prophet allotted parts of the country of the Judhām;[73] the second was the Banū Ḥarām Banū Jiʿal, a sub-tribe of Baliyy;[74] and the third was the Banū Jaʿal, a branch of the Khalwān, a sub-tribe of the Kahlān.[75] The last lived in Upper Egypt and were called according to Ibn Duqmāq al-Jaʿaliyyīn,[76] which is identical with the name of the Sudanese tribe. The occurrence of Jaʿal among the south Arabian tribes, for example Khalwān[77] and Baliyy (parts of which entered the Sudan) strengthens the impression that a considerable number of the so-called Jaʿaliyyīn had strong affiliations with south Arabian tribes. However, confronted with the unanimity of Sudanese traditions that the word Jaʿalī is synonymous with ʿAbbāsī, we must seek another explanation.

There are two different explanations as to the origin of the name Jaʿal in Sudanese traditions. The first and the less common explanation is that the Jaʿaliyyīn had an ancestor who, because of his dark and ugly complexion, was called *Juʿal*, or black beetle. by his paternal aunt and that the whole tribe was named after him.[78] As would be expected, this explanation is not favoured by many genealogists. The second explanation is more popular and probably nearer to the truth. Tradition states that during a famine people from different clans flocked in large numbers to Ibrāhīm b. Idrīs and complained of shortage of food. Ibrāhīm, who was a generous chief, used to welcome them and would say *jaʿalnākum min ahl nafaqatinā*, or "we have made you part of our household".[79] Another version of the same tradition recounts that in time of famine several feeble sub-tribes came and allied themselves to Ibrāhīm b. Idrīs who used to reassure them by saying *jaʿalnākum minnā*, or "you have become part of us".[80] The two versions agree that he repeated this sentence *jaʿalnākum minnā* so often that he was nicknamed Jaʿal.

The bare facts of the tradition indicate that Ibrāhīm was an Arab chief of considerable wealth, probably holding a measure of authority over the indigenous population and whose hospitality attracted many weak and defenceless clans. Ibrāhīm readily welcomed this new source of strength and in return gave them protection and communal rights like members of his own clan. The result was a unification of various Arab elements.

Ibrāhīm Ja'al was probably an 'Abbāsī whose ancestors might have entered the Sudan in the Fatimid period. The settlement of these 'Abbāsīs in the middle region of the Nile was undoubtedly accompanied by immigration from the tribes that once worked the mines, for example the Rabī'a, the Qays, the Muḍar, the Baliyy, and the Sa'd al-'Ashīra. The names of these tribes were, incidentally, no longer heard in Sudanese traditions. The disintegration of al-Muqarra opened the way for a fresh influx of Arabs by way of the Nile. The majority of the immigrants moved away from the Dunqula region to the interior, but some remained behind. Among the first were probably the Banū Ja'd, noted to have been active in the region of Dunqula as late as 767/1366.[81] The settlement of these Arabs and their intermarriage with the Nubians gave rise to an Arabized Nubian stock who spoke only Arabic and who professed Islam. Their claim to Arab ancestry is historically established, but to say that they were all 'Abbāsīs is inaccurate.

Two significant conclusions emerge from the analysis of the Ja'alī lineage: the first is the deliberate attempt to ignore the Nubian sub-stratum[82] that the Arab immigrants had submerged. The second is the genealogists' tendency to standardize inter-relationship among these Arabized Nubians and to link them all to the genesis of the Ja'alī-'Abbāsī Groups. In reality the majority of the immigrants were not 'Abbāsīs but Arabs of mixed composition.

The main tribes of the Ja'alī Group were the Bidayriyya

—large sections of whom migrated from Dunqula to the neighbourhood of al-Obied in Kordofan, probably in the eighth/fourteenth century,[83] the Shāyqiyya, the Manāṣīr, the Rubāṭāb, the Mirafāb, and the Jaʿaliyyīn proper. Although all these tribes lived on the river-banks it would be wrong to give the impression that they all led a sedentary life: sections of the Jaʿaliyyīn proper for instance maintained a nomadic existence until recently.

Among those who continued to lead a nomadic life and claim a Jaʿalī ancestry are the Baṭāḥīn, who inhabited the central land of the Buṭāna, around Abū Dilayq. To assign to them a Jaʿalī-ʿAbbāsī genealogy is probably wrong.[84] Their own traditions indicate that their name is connected with the *Biṭāḥ* or *Baṭḥāʾ Makka*, that is, the Qurayshites who inhabited the suburbs of Mecca in and before the time of the Prophet.[85] These included among others the Taym and the ʿAdī, the ancestors of the Banū Abī Bakr and the Banū ʿUmar, who accompanied a Mamluk army to Dunqula. The present state of our knowledge does not enable us to decide either for or against this connection. But it should be noted that *biṭāḥ* is a general topographical term; the Baṭāḥīn might thus have come from a *biṭāḥ* which was not that of Mecca.

Claims of Jaʿalī-ʿAbbāsī ancestry are by no means confined to the Dār al-Jaʿaliyyīn. They are also found among the Jimiʿāb, the Jamaʿāb, the Jamūʿiyya, the Jawāmiʿa, and the Jimiʿ. The habitat of the first three is on the western bank of the Nile from the Sabalōqa Gorge to the lowest part of the White Nile, a natural extension of the ancient homeland of the Jaʿalī Group. The Jawāmiʿa, pushing away from the Nile, occupied the rich sand dunes of northern Kordofan. The Jimiʿ settled in the neighbourhood of Kosti, on the western bank of the White Nile, probably at a relatively recent date. The mere fact that the names of these five sub-tribes could have been derived from *Jamaʿa* (to collect), was taken to mean that they

were mixed tribes.[86] The first three were undoubtedly of the same Ja'alī background and stock. The rarity of the Tu-Bedawie "ab" suffix in the last two tribes suggested that they originally came by a different route, west of the Nile. The Jawāmi'a, in particular, seem to be a conglomeration of Arabs from such groups as the Shāyqiyya, the Maḥas and perhaps the Banū Hilāl.[87]

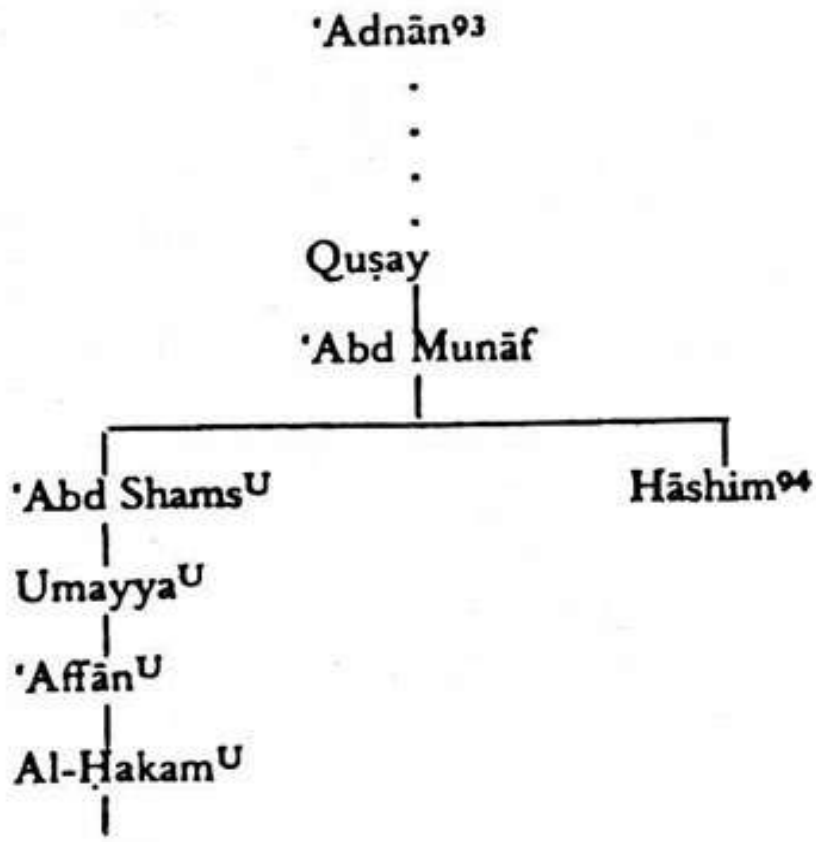
It is significant to note that as soon as the process of Arabization and Islamization was completed in Upper Nubia some Ja'alīs migrated further to the west. On their arrival, they invariably married into the still pagan local population; around them Islamized dynasties sprang up. The first among these was the kingdom of Taqalī in Kordofan, whose founder, Muḥammad al-Ja'alī a *fakī*, came from the north about 936/1530.[88] The second, the Karya dynasty, which ruled in Dār Fūr, was traditionally believed to be of Hilālī or 'Abbāsī descent.[89] The validity of either tradition need not concern us in this study; it suffices to say that the two traditions point to historical cultural influences from both Tunis and Nilotic Sudan meeting in Dār Fūr. The third is a Muslim dynasty established in Wadāy in the eleventh/seventeenth century by a Ja'alī from Shandī called 'Abd al-Karīm Yāmi or Muḥammad Jāmi'.[90] These and other lesser manifestations are typical examples of the legend of the "Wise Stranger" who migrates from an ancient centre of civilization, where the two processes of Arabization and Islamization have gone far, to a less civilized region where the two processes have hardly begun. Probably the best example of the Wise Stranger legend, though not of a Ja'alī-'Abbāsī background, is that of the Funj.

4. *The Juhayna Arabs*

The bulk of the Arab immigrants, unlike the Ja'aliyyīn, were not attracted by the sedentary life of the riverain

dwellers and advanced to the pastoral plains of the Kingdom of 'Alwa, where they led a nomadic life until recently. We should recall that the Juhayna and probably their relations the Baliyy, had formed a leading part among these immigrants. Unfortunately the similarity of nomadic life and the fluid nature of tribal groupings led genealogists, who were fond of systematizing inter-tribal relations, to conclude that all the non-Ja'alī Groups were Juhayna. Thus the term Juhayna came to have both a wider and a more restricted meaning: the first includes tribes which are not historically connected with the Juhayna such as the Rufā'a[91] and the Fazāra; the second refers to the Juhayna proper. Having connected these tribes with the Juhayna proper, who were historically south Arabians, genealogists mistakenly linked them with the north Arabian tribes.

The Juhayna genealogy comes in four versions. The first version refers to Dhubyān and his ten sons that begot the various sub-tribes of the Juhayna Group.[92] This pedigree, which is very confused and full of errors, runs as follows:



Mu'āwiya[U]

'Aylān*

Qays*

Sa'd

Ghaṭafān*

Rayth*

Juhayna[95]

Baghīḍ*[96]

Qays*

Dahmān

'Abdallāh
(al-Juhanī)

Dhubyān*

'Abd al-Azīz Maḥasī (The Maḥas)

Judhām (The Judhāmiyyīn)

Bashīr (The Shukriyya)

Sufyān Afzar

'Āmir

Rāfi'
(The Rufā'a)

5 other brothers

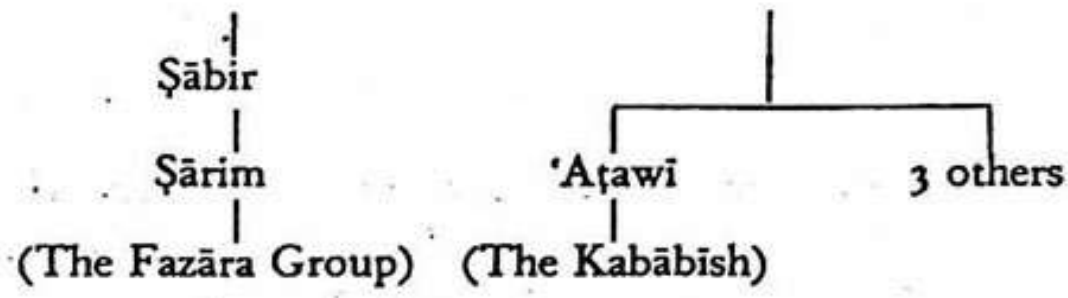
'Abs

2 others

Ḥamad Afzar

Sha'ūf

Kabsh



The second version records that Juhayna was the son of 'Aṭiyya b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asd b. 'Abd al-'Uzza b. Quṣay,[97] which is patently fictitious.[98] The third version alleges that the Juhayna were descended from 'Abdallāh b. Unays al-Juhanī,[99] the Companion of the Prophet. 'Abdallāh, though styled al-Juhanī, has no connection with the tribe whose name he bears, except that both his tribe and the Juhayna are ultimately connected with the Quḍā'a.[100] This apparent similarity of names misled genealogists into concluding that 'Abdallāh was a descendant of the Juhayna. This version is particularly common among the Baqqāra tribes.[101] The fourth version refers to the ancestry of Juhayna, that is, Juhayna b. Quḍā'a, but like other versions wrongly connects him with Ma'd b. 'Adnān —the ancestor of the north Arabians.[102]

These confused traditions reflect the fact that the Juhayna were composed of various elements which genealogists attempted to link together. A similar conclusion is expressed by a compiler: after their coming into the Sudan the four Juhayna tribes agreed among themselves and thus became one tribe.[103] To solve this dilemma an attempt will be made to discuss the origin and composition of the remaining major groupings under these headings: the Buṭāna Arabs, the Gezira Arabs, the Kabābīsh and the Fazāra, and the Baqqāra.

The Buṭāna Arabs. The northern part of the Buṭāna is inhabited by nomadic Ja'alī tribes; south of these, in the region of Wādī al-Hawwād, live the Fādniyya, whose

genealogical tradition will be discussed with the Ashrāf. The central plains of the Buṭāna are occupied by the Shukriyya Arabs whom the majority of the *nisbas* classify as Juhayna through a certain Bashīr b. Dhubyān.[104] The Shukriyya themselves trace their origin to a certain Shukr b. Idrīs, and ultimately to ʿAbdallāh al-Jawād b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, thus connecting themselves with the family of the Prophet.[105] The two pedigrees are reconciled in a third version which states that the Shukriyya are Juhayna except the chiefly family of Abū Sin who are Ṭālibīs.[106] The historical Banū Shukr were, however, a branch of the Rabīʿa, many of whom worked the mines in the eastern desert.[107] Indeed one of the mines, al-Shukrī, was probably named after this Rabīʿa branch.[108] From there the Banū Shukr migrated to the Buṭāna, probably together with the various Arabs, including the Juhayna and the ancestors of the Abū Sin family. Long after their arrival, which may be dated in the eighth/fourteenth century, the Abū Sin family succeeded in asserting their influence over most of the Arabs in the Central Buṭāna under their ancestor Shāʿ al-Dīn.

Sections of the Juhayna found on the lower waters of the Rahad and the Dinder, and south of the Shukriyya *Dār*, succeeded in retaining their unity and tribal name despite the probable encroachments of their strong neighbours the Shukriyya and the Rufāʿa. These are the Juhayna proper.[109] The name, Juhayna, though loosely applied to the Rufāʿa Arabs by other tribes, is specifically restricted to the southern Rufāʿa or Rufāʿa al-Sharq and Rufāʿa al-Hōy Arabs.[110] This usage would indicate that there was a strong Juhayna element among the southern Rufāʿa.

The Rufāʿa, according to local tradition which agrees with the Arabic sources, had settled at first among the Beja.[111] They then journeyed until they reached the Blue Nile,[112] and so came to occupy most of its lower valley,

the southern part of the Buṭāna, and south-eastern district of the Gezira. Recalling that the Rufā'a and the Juhayna were reported to be at war in 680/1281 in the desert of Sawākin, it would seem reasonable to assume that they had reached their present habitat in the eighth/fourteenth century.

The Rufā'a are generally classed in the *nisbas* among the Juhayna Group, through their ancestor Rāfi' b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir b. Dhubyān.[113] It has been pointed out that this may be due to the actual proximity of the Juhayna and the Rufā'a in the Hijaz, Upper Egypt,[114] and the Beja country. Doubtless during this age-long association much intermarriage and intermingling had taken place. Indeed, the Juhayna origin of at least one Rufā'a sub-section, the 'Arakiyyīn, can be traced. They are the same Banū 'Arak who under al-Aḥdab defied the Mamluk authority in Upper Egypt in 749–54/1348–53, and were compelled to flee to the Sudan,[115] a recollection which is expressed in a tradition recording that the 'Arakiyyīn are Juhayna.[116] However, the marriage of some men of religion who claim Sharīfī descent with the 'Arakiyyīn made the whole sub-tribe and, for that matter, many of the Rufā'a Arabs claim noble lineage.[117]

Despite all this, the nucleus and the name of the Rufā'a Arabs can be traced. They are a branch of the Banū Sulaym of Hawāzin[118] who migrated with their relations, the Banū Hilāl, to Egypt in Fatimid times. Many of these Arabs moved on towards Ifrīqiya, while considerable numbers remained in Upper Egypt. Al-Ḥamadānī relates that the Banū Rifā'a were living in the vicinity of Ikhmīm[119] and were, in fact, seen in 680/1281 in the desert of 'Aydhāb.[120] At the same time the Banū Hilāl extended their influence and peopled the region between Upper Egypt and 'Aydhāb.[121] From there they migrated with the Rufā'a to the Buṭāna, where their name is still preserved in the Rufā'a sub-section of the Hilāliyya.[122]

Although most of these Arabs had undoubtedly come by way of Egypt, it would seem that their successful penetration had attracted others who came directly across the Red Sea. Indeed, as late as 1814, Burckhardt met a Rufāʿī Arab at Shandī, on his way from Yanbuʿ in Arabia to visit his Rufāʿa relations who lived south of Sinnār.[123]

Once the sparsely populated plains of the Buṭāna had been occupied by the first immigrants, later arrivals had no alternative but to advance to the plains of the Gezira.

The Gezira Arabs. The exact date at which the Arabs who penetrated the Gezira—such as the Kināna, the Dughaym, the Masallamiyya, and the Kawāhla—actually settled there is not known. Most likely they came after the Rufāʿa and Juhayna, and likewise the majority of them followed the same easterly route from Egypt.

The Kināna are according to tradition a branch of the Arabian tribe of that name.[124] A group of the Kināna had indeed settled in the neighbourhood of Damietta in the vizirate of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Zurayq (549–55/1154–60).[125] During the crusade of Louis IX they were in charge of garrisoning the city, but on the arrival of the French crusaders in 647/1249 the Arabs deserted their posts. Therefore, the Ayyubid sultan, according to one authority, executed all the fugitives.[126] It seems most likely that some Kināna Arabs escaped this massacre and fled southward. Al-Ḥamadānī mentions that a group of Kināna and other Arabs migrated from the Hijaz, probably in the seventh/thirteenth century, and settled in the neighbourhood of Sāqiyat Qulta in Upper Egypt, although the inhabitants of the "Land of Quraysh" were not enthusiastic about allowing them to settle there.[127]

Tradition relates that one of the Kināna ancestors, Manṣūr, migrated from Mecca to Egypt, then moved up the Nile as far as Dunqula where he remained for a short

time, presumably with other followers. From there, the Kināna pushed on to Kordofan, while an offshoot eventually joined the Kabābish Arabs.[128] However, the fact that the bulk of the tribe lived in the Gezira may suggest that various sections of the Kināna came from an easterly direction.

It will be recalled that the Dughaym[129] Arabs who are cousins of the Kināna, lived in the desert between Qūṣ and 'Aydhāb. It was in their company that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa traversed that desert in 725/1325.[130] In the same period their chief Shaykh 'Alī was in correspondence with the Mamluk sultan.[131] It would, therefore, seem possible that some Kināna lived with the Dughaym in the eastern desert.[132] A part of the Kināna who lived north of the Yemen, around the port of Ḥalī, which had close contacts with Sawākin, may have crossed the Red Sea.[133] On the other hand the scarcity of the *ab* suffixes in the names of the Kināna sub-sections in both the Gezira and Kordofan shows that the number of those who came across the Beja country was neither large enough, nor did they stay there long enough, to adopt this Beja terminology. Nevertheless, it seems most likely that the nucleus of the Gezira Kināna came across the eastern desert.

The small tribe of the Masallamiyya Arabs, found in the Gezira and on the White Nile, claims descent from the caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq,[134] while the *nisbas* suggest a Juhayna or an Umayyad connection.[135] The Masallamiyya relate that their ancestor Masallam migrated from Isnā in Upper Egypt up the river into the Sudan.[136] This is probably no more than a vague recollection of the arrival of Banū Abī Bakr with a Mamluk expedition[137] against al-Muqurra in 685/1287.[138] The two other traditions perhaps refer to other Arabs who could have joined the Banū Abī Bakr. While the Banū Abī Bakr were in Egypt they produced a number of men well versed in the

Mālikī and Shāfi'ī rites.[139] In the Sudan several holy men flourished among them.[140]

After a temporary stay among the Beja, various sections of the Kawāhla slowly advanced, probably about the eighth/fourteenth century, to the interior and settled in widely scattered regions. The Kawāhla ancestry discussed above[141] is claimed by sub-sections in the Buṭāna, west of the Nile, in the Gezira and Kordofan. The majority of these clans retained the original name, but a few like the Ḥassāniyya were known by independent names.

In their westerly migration, the Kawāhla spread first along the banks of the Atbara, where a few remained. The second stage was in the Buṭāna, where a Kāhilī offshoot, the Marghumāb, remained behind and eventually attached themselves to the Shukriyya.[142] A part of these nomads lived further to the north near the junction of the Nile and the Atbara. Other sections of the Ḥassāniyya still lead a nomadic life east of the Nile in al-Abwāb district. Another Ḥassāniyya group migrated directly from the Beja country across the Nile to the Bayūḍa desert. In the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century they seem to have commenced the third stage of their journey: they infiltrated in large numbers into the south-western fringes of the metropolitan region of 'Alwa. Gradually they pressed southward taking possession of the land east and west of the White Nile towards the island of Abā, which then marked the limit of the Arabic-speaking peoples. These included the Kawāhla proper, the Ḥassāniyya and the Ḥusaynāt. From here some Kawāhla joined the Kabābīsh while others penetrated into Kordofan, probably at a much later date. During the third stage of their migration they pressed into the region of Sinnār.[143]

The Kabābish and the Faḍāra. The majority of the Arabs who penetrated into the western part of the king-

dom of 'Alwa had followed the river as far as Dunqula, and then broken away in a south-westerly direction through Wādī al-Qa'ab, Wādī al-Malik, and Wādī al-Muqaddam. In the course of centuries many Arabs advanced through what came to be known as *Darb al-Arba'īn* or the Forty Days' Road, which led from Asyūṭ across the desert to Dār Fūr; thence the Arabs dispersed into the northern plains of Kordofan, of Dār Fūr and beyond. The Judhām Arabs figure largely among those who came by these routes.

In a unique document transcribed by al-Qalqashandī,[144] the King of Bornu,[145] Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Idrīs, wrote in 794/1391 to Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq complaining of the atrocities committed by the Judhām and other Arabs who lived in the neighbourhood of his country. He relates that they attacked his people, killing some and taking others, Muslims and non-Muslims, into captivity. They sold the captives to merchants from Egypt, Syria, and other places. Although it is not clear from the text whether the actual sale took place in Bornu or Egypt, it is evident that the slaves were ultimately carried to Egyptian markets. The king requested the sultan to use his influence to obtain the return of the enslaved people from Egypt and to castigate the Arabs for their unwarranted action.[146] This incident demonstrates two significant conclusions: firstly, the Judhām had strong ties with Egypt, and probably some of them were still living in Upper Egypt; secondly, the Arabs had by the eighth/fourteenth century penetrated beyond Kordofan and Dār Fūr in sufficiently large numbers to alarm the Muslim rulers[147] of the central *Bilād al-Sūdān*.

The Judhām Arabs,[148] a branch of Kahlān, the south Arabian tribe, was one of the first tribes that accompanied 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and settled in the eastern Ḥawf in Lower Egypt. Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī enfeoffed the Ṭayy' Arab warriors with the land belonging to the Judhām,[149]

some of whom were probably compelled to drift southwards. In al-Qalqashandī's day there were no less than twenty-one widely distributed sub-sections of the Judhām.[150] Although this name (the Judhām) does not exist among the Sudanese Arabs, and is rarely mentioned in the *nisbas*, some of its clans can be traced among the Kabābīsh and the Baqqāra. One tradition relates that Awlād Judhām or the Judhāmiyyīn lived at Wādī al-Qa'ab west of Dunqula.[151] It may then be supposed that the earliest migrants of the Judhām settled with other Arabs in the easily accessible plains of northern Kordofan and Dār Fūr. When the remainder arrived, the rich pastures were already fully occupied by Arabs and others and they, therefore, continued their journey to Bornu.

The Kabābīsh led a nomadic life, rearing camels and sheep mainly in the semi-desert between Wādī al-Malik and Wādī al-Muqaddam and northern Kordofan. Some of the various Arab tribes who traversed this region on their way to the rich pastures of Kordofan and Dār Fūr remained behind, thus forming the synthetic composition of the Kabābīsh.[152] These Kabābīsh are simply classified in the *nisbas* as Juhayna, that is, descendants of Kabsh b. Ḥamad al-Afzar b. 'Abs b. Sufyān al-Afzar b. Dhubyān and ultimately of 'Abdallāh al-Juhanī or Juhayna.[153] But, first, this ancestry is widely claimed by all the Arab tribes of Kordofan; secondly, it seems that the Kabābīsh were nomads of unknown or of heterogeneous origins, who expressed their unity by creating a fictitious eponym, Kabsh. Yet it is the Kabsh or ram round which the livelihood of the tribe revolves. Although this name was clearly assumed long after the Arab migratory wave of the eighth/fourteenth century had spent itself, the nucleus of the tribe can be detected.

Among the eldest sub-tribes of the Kabābish were Awlād 'Uqba, the 'Aṭawiyya, and the Sirājāb. The latter

were a branch of the Kināna who remained behind. The other two were historically connected. It is said that the Awlād ʿUqba were the genesis of the Kabābīsh and the chiefs of the tribe for several generations.[154] There is mention of two Banū ʿUqba in Arabic sources, both of whom were likely to have entered the Sudan. The first were a section of the Judhām, referred to above, who peopled the northern part of the Hijaz as far as the Sinai desert,[155] and parts of whom extended as far as al-Ḥawf in Egypt.[156] According to Ibn Khaldūn there were also some Banū ʿUqba in Ifrīqiya and many more in the vicinity of Tripoli.[157] The second Banū ʿUqba were a branch of the Banū Hilāl, descendants of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, who were at Aswān and Isnā in al-Ḥamadānī's day.[158] Admitting that offshoots of both tribes might have found their way to the traditional habitat of the Kabābīsh, it is highly probable that the Banū or Awlād ʿUqba were in effect the descendants of the Judhām. They were certainly part of the Judhām movement that reached Bornu.

The root *ʿaṭa* and its derivatives occur only in the names of three sub-tribes. The first were the Banū ʿAṭiyya, a branch of al-Uthbuj of the Banū Hilāl with whom they migrated to Ifrīqiya in 443/1051,[159] and lived in Constantine until they became debilitated and eventually extinct.[160] To suggest that some of the Banū ʿAṭiyya came straight across the desert from Constantine seems incredible, in view of the lack of water and the scarcity of grass. The other two sub-tribes, both called al-ʿAṭawiyyīn, were descended from Judhām. The first were a branch of Ṣakhr found at al-Kark, and the second were a subsection of Hilba b. Suwayd, who lived in the eastern Ḥawf.[161] The last mentioned were probably the ʿAṭawiyya who accompanied their relations Banū ʿUquba to the Kabābīsh country.

In time, the Kabābīsh were joined by other Arabs, some of whom like al-Nūrāb came from Dunqula.[162] The

survival of the ethnic ending *ab* among a few sub-sections suggests that they had come across the Beja country, if they were not partly Bejāwī in origin, as Seligman has shown.[163]

The term Fazāra is used in the *nisbas* in a generic sense to designate several closely affiliated sub-tribes, who were principally camel breeders in northern and central Kordofan and northern Dār Fūr. After the twelfth/eighteenth century the name fell into disuse and each division was known by an independent name. None of these names is of any help in tracing the parent stock. The genealogists classify the Fazāra Group as Juhayna through Ṣārim b. Sha'ūf[164] (the brother of Kabsh) b. Ḥamad al-Afzar b. 'Abs b. Sufyān al-Afzar b. Dhubyān.[165] This genealogy is similar to that of the Kabābīsh and, like it, it is highly tendentious.

The original Fazāra have no connection with the Juhayna. They were a north Arabian tribe, that is, Fazāra b. Dhubāyan b. Baghīd b. Rayth b. Ghaṭāfān b. Sa'd b. Qays 'Aylān.[166] They were closely related to the 'Abs[167] with whom they lived in Wādī al-Qurā and in Najd, although none remained there by the time of Ibn Khaldūn.[168] In the year 469/1076–7 Badr al-Jamālī drove some of the Fazāra towards Barqa.[169] Indeed Ibn Sa'īd (d. 673/1274) talks of them in Barqa and Tripoli,[170] whereas a century later they were mixed with the Berbers in Ifrīqiya and Morocco.[171] When al-Ḥamadānī wrote in the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century, a large section of the Fazāra were in Upper Egypt, and others at Qalyūb in the Delta.[172] Although 'Abs were no longer heard of as a tribe, it is almost certain that they joined the Fazāra in their journeys.[173]

The Juhayna tradition cannot be discarded altogether; it is probably indicative of the existence of some Juhayna elements, large numbers of which had entered the country among the Fazāra Group. Indeed, another tradition

singles out the Majānīn and Awlād Aqōy as Juhayna.[174] A third tradition alleges that the Fazāra were descended from the Banū Tamīm,[175] the north Arabian tribe. Such a claim is made by no other tribe, except their neighbours the Ḥamar.[176] The only thing known for certain is that the Banū Tamīm were neighbours of the Fazāra in Najd before the two tribes disappeared from Arabia.[177] Furthermore, the Banū Tamīm were among the Arabs exploiting the mines in the eastern desert.[178]

In the light of this scant information it may be assumed that the Fazāra Group was an amalgamation of various Arab tribes. The survival of names like 'Abs, Afzar or Fazāra, and Dhubyān in their genealogy is but an echo of half-forgotten tribes that formed the basis of the Sudanese Fazāra who were closely related to the historical one. The rarity of the *ab* suffixes in the Fazāra clans' names strengthens the impression that they migrated from Egypt via the route to the west of the Nile, and not those to the east of it.

The Baqqāra Arabs. By the eighth/fourteenth century it is almost certain that the Arabs had penetrated as far as Lake Chad, thus occupying the north plains of Kordofan, Dār Fūr, and Wadāy which were ideal for camel-nomads and sheep breeders. Subsequent arrivals, who could not find room in this region, had to hurry southward—that is, into southern Kordofan and Dār Fūr. The new belt, although rich in pasture, was not climatically suitable for either camels or sheep. Gradually, the Arabs, like the natives, adopted cattle breeding and thus became known collectively as the Baqqāra (from *baqara* or cow).

These tribes lay beyond the immediate interest of our main informants, the riverain *nisba* writers, who gave them no more than casual attention. Thus, our knowledge of them is even more obscure than it is of the rest of the Arab tribes in the Sudan. For this reason, I shall restrict

myself to a few remarks to complete the picture of Arab penetration.

The Baqqāra tribes generally claim descent from the Juhayna through their eponymous father Aḥmad al-Ajdham and ultimately to ʿAbdallah al-Juhanī.[179] Admitting that there was some Juhayna blood among the Baqqāra, this claim is probably no more than a "reflection of existing groupings",[180] grafted onto a Juhayna genealogy. However, an examination of such tribal names as Banū Hilba and Thaʿlaba helps to throw light on their origin.

The historical Banū Hilba, a sub-tribe of the Judhām, were closely related to the ʿAṭawiyya who settled among the Kabābīsh. Among the Banū Hilba's relations were al-Jābiriyyīn and al-Ḥamīdiyyīn, all living at al-Ḥawf.[181] It appears that, during the Arab risings in the last two decades of the eighth/fourteenth century, these sections followed the Judhām in their south-westerly migration.[182] Once more, in 872/1467–8, nearly all the Arabs of Egypt broke out in rebellion, keeping the Mamluks busy for several years.[183] In 873/1468–9 the Banū Hilba, who had apparently lately settled in Upper Egypt, were severely crushed.[184] Many of them did not hesitate to hurry to the south. The original Banū Hilba and their sub-sections of al-Jābiriyyīn were the ancestors of the Banū Hilba Baqārra and their branch Awlād Jābir. Al-Ḥamīdiyyīn were evidently the forefathers of Awlād Ḥimayd[185] Baqqāra.

One suspects that the second name of the Baqqāra's eponymous father Aḥmad al-Ajdham, symbolized the preponderance of the Judhāmī element among the Baqqāra tribes.

The Thaʿlaba are one of the main divisions of the Misayriyya. Speaking of what he calls the original Misayriyya, a compiler of a *nisba* relates that they were Banū Miṣira b. Thaʿlaba b. Fakhdh b. Ṭayy'.[186] The compiler

is evidently quoting, although wrongly, an Arabic source which he does not name. As far as one may ascertain, there were no Banū Misira and none of these names exist in the genealogy of Ṭayy' except the second and the last. In another passage the same compiler says that the Misayriyya were a branch of the Tha'āliba, descendants of the Banū Tha'lab Arabs of the Hijaz.[187] Indeed the Tha'laba were descended from Ṭayy', the south Arabian tribe.[188] They were known in Upper Egypt as the Tha'āliba.[189] A different group of Tha'laba were settled by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī at al-Ḥawf, among the Judhām, with whom it appears their fortunes were linked.[190] Another section of the Ṭayy' were the Sunbus, to whom al-Yāzūrī had allotted land in al-Buḥayra in 442/1050; by the early Mamluk times they became a powerful tribe, but owing to their support for al-Aḥdab in 651/1253 against the Mamluks, they were badly crushed and dispersed.[191] Apparently, after the failure of repeated Arab risings, the Tha'laba and their relations journeyed to Kordofan and Dār Fūr with the Judhām.

The Tha'laba and the Banū Hilba, like most of the Baqqāra, were undoubtedly joined by various Arab elements on their journey and latterly became much intermixed with ancient peoples of Kordofan and Dār Fūr. To take an extreme example, the original Ḥawāzima,[192] probably an offshoot of the Misayriyya, became so intermixed with the native stocks that according to tradition the two elements became indistinguishable.[193]

The routes by which the ancestors of the Baqqāra came to the Sudan are open to controversy. Pending a systematic study of the Arabs' and Arabized Berbers' movements to the central *Bilād al-Sūdān* after the Hilālī irruption of north Africa, a brief discussion and commentary on MacMichael's findings will suffice. MacMichael has suggested two routes: the first by way of the Nile and the second from north Africa through

the Bornu, Chad, and Wadāy regions into the Baqqāra country.[194]

To the first he consigns the majority of the immigrants, whom he considers to have been Juhayna, and to have pressed south-westward as far as Bornu, after the Juhayna irruption of the eighth/fourteenth century. Granting that considerable numbers of the Juhayna had come this way, they were probably not the majority among the Baqqāra. These were the Judhām Arabs and their allies, who traversed the desert immediately west of the Nile to the region called after the Baqqāra. There is, however, hardly any evidence that the Baqqāra ancestors came from the east across the Nile: the *ab* endings are completely unknown among them.

The second route refers to the claim of some Baqqāra that their ancestors came from Tunis and Fazzān. In the wake of the Hilālī invasion of Ifrīqiya some Arabs and Arabized Berbers penetrated, probably in pursuit of trade, to Fazzān and to the region of Chad. There, they intermixed with the Judhām who arrived from the north-east. Apparently, owing to some trouble in the Central *Bilād al-Sūdān*, some of the Judhām and Arabized Berbers turned back to Dār Fūr and Kordofan where they rejoined the earlier waves of the Judhām migration. This movement is clearly echoed in a Baqqāra legend which relates that the Baqqāra forefathers had gone west of the Sudan before turning east and settling in their traditional habitat.[195] The return movement had probably taken place some ten generations ago.[196]

The existence of the Hilālī tradition among the Baqqāra, although not a proof of their migration from north Africa,[197] reflects cultural contacts with the Maghrib. The Baqqāra seem to have appropriated the famous story of Abū Zayd al-Hilālī, which symbolizes the Hilālī invasion of Ifrīqiya, and to have transferred the whole movement to a Sudanese setting. On the other hand, there is

evidence that a group of Banū Hilāl accompanied the Mamluk expedition against al-Muqurra[198] from whence it may be assumed that they joined the ancestors of the Baqqāra further south-west.[199]

5. *The Ashrāf*

The term Ashrāf is used to denote the descendants of the Prophet, of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and those of his brother Ja'far al-Ṭayyār. As the claimants to this noble ancestry, in most cases, lack any external supporting evidence, it should be realized that the following remarks are based almost exclusively on local tradition. Some Ashrāf might indeed have found their way to the Sudan; the one documented example, previously alluded to, is that of al-Sharīf Zayd b. Abī Numayy b. 'Ajlān, who inherited the governorship of Sawākin from his Bejāwī maternal uncles.[200] But the number of such people could at no time have been large, simply because the original Ashrāf were few in number, scattered all over the Muslim world, and were increasingly absorbed into local populations. These would hardly have succeeded in forming large, distinct tribal units. However, their presence in different places, even in small numbers, led to the appearance of larger groups claiming noble lineage. The case of the Ashrāf of the Sudan is probably no exception to this.

According to one genealogical tradition, there were no less than twenty-three families and clans which claim Sharīfī ancestry; more names are also given by other traditions.[201] From the scanty information gleaned from these traditions one general impression seems to emerge; wherever it is possible to ascertain the origin of a clan, its nucleus seems to have developed around a religious teacher, whose descendants have invariably claimed a Sharīfī ancestry. Probably the only detailed example to illustrate this point is that of al-Sharīf Ghulām Allāh b.

'Ā'id, who descended ultimately from al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and who is reputed to have migrated in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century from Yemen to Dunqula, where he became a teacher of religion. There he married from the local population, and from his descendants developed a whole clan named the Rikābiyya, after his son Rikāb, which continued to claim a Sharīfī origin.[202] The mere fact that the Rikābiyya, although much intermixed with the older population, continued as religious teachers in Dunqula and less civilized regions, helped them to gain much respect, and perhaps strengthen their claim to a noble ancestry.[203]

The claims of the Fādniyya and the Ja'āfira, about whom there is some information, do not fit into this pattern. The Fādniyya live in the region of Wādī al-Hawwād, east of al-Abwāb. They are a small nomadic tribe who trace their ancestry through Ḥasan b. Bā-Fādin to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib (by a wife other than Fāṭima).[204] This Bā-Fādin seems to be the same holy man whose sanctuary at the ruins of al-Ba'ṣa in al-Buṭāna was noted by Crowfoot.[205] The Fādniyya's claim to have settled in Būhīn in al-Marīs,[206] before moving south, is substantiated indirectly by other sources. The descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya are said to have lived in Upper Egypt[207] and a tombstone inscription refers to the presence of an 'Alid community at al-Daw as early as 532/1137.[208] Some genealogists deny the Fādniyya such an ancestry, and class them as Juhayna;[209] others, although granting them such an ancestry, expressed their doubt by saying "there is much related of them".[210] The inference to be drawn would seem that the genesis of the tribe was possibly 'Alid, but that it was enlarged by the Juhayna accretions.

The Ja'āfira or Banū Ja'far included the descendants of Ja'far al Ṣādiq. . . . b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, who apparently after living in

Upper Egypt for some time became intermixed to such an extent that it was difficult to differentiate between them.[211] According to Ibn Khaldūn, the majority of the Ja'āfira were engaged in trade,[212] and it would seem that while in pursuit of that activity they penetrated into the Sudan. Furthermore, some of them appear to have fled to the Sudan after the suppression of the revolt of al-Sharīf Ḥisn al-Dīn b. Tha'lab of the Banū Ja'afar al-Ṣādiq in the days of Baybars.[213] They still retain their natural aptitude for trade, and continue to claim noble ancestry. The claim that the Ja'āfira are descended from Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī[214] is perhaps without foundation.

6. *Banū Umayya or the Umayyad genealogy of the Funj*

The obscurity of the Funj origins has already been noted. Native tradition gives them an Umayyad pedigree which has certain variations in detail. The earliest version states that the 'Amriyyīn were the descendants of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Amawī who migrated from Syria in the caliphate of Abū'-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ to Abyssinia. The continued attacks of the Abbasids on the remaining Umayyads compelled Sulaymān to move from Abyssinia to the Sudan. There he married the daughter of one of the kings and had two sons, Dāwūd and Anas,[215] one of whom inherited the kingdom.[216] It is true that 'Abdallāh and 'Ubayd Allāh, the sons of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān, together with other Umayyads, took refuge in Nubia, but had to leave. On their way to Arabia they were harassed by the Beja and in one of these clashes 'Ubayd Allāh was killed while his brother, with the rest of the Umayyads, crossed the Red Sea to Arabia.[217] These are the only documented Umayyad immigrants to have come to the Sudan, and none of them seem to have remained behind.

On the other hand it is quite possible that some Banū Umayya may have found their way to the land. Aḥmad b. al-Faqīh records that the Banū 'l-Aḥmar, a clan of the Banū Umayya, were in Abyssinia, but that most of them have vanished.[218] As already stated the Massallamiyya were descended, according to some genealogists, from Banū Umayya.[219] The Habāniyya and sections of the Ḥamar were also claimed to be Umayyads.[220] But there is hardly any indication to show that there was a connection between the Funj and these Umayyad groups. The Funj claim is perhaps tendentious.

It is not clear at what date the new dynasty began to claim Umayyad descent. In the light of Reubeni's account, at least King 'Umāra was a Muslim.[221] But with the extension of the Funj hegemony over Muslims further to the north, it seems that the remaining Funj were rapidly Islamized. Like other converts on the fringes of *Dār al-Islām*, the Funj tended to associate themselves with the Arabs, and thus adopted an Arab ancestry. Their motives were pragmatic and twofold: to increase their prestige among the Muslims in general, and to enhance their moral authority over their Arab subjects.[222]

To choose a suitable Arab ancestry was not an easy matter. The noble 'Abbāsī pedigree was already adopted and jealously guarded by the Ja'aliyyīn. The Juhayna were the traditional ancestors of the 'Abdallāb, whom the Funj had reduced to a secondary status. In order to outdo these two groups, the Funj, with the help of genealogists, may well have chosen the Umayyad ancestry.[223]

7. *The degree of Arabization*

The processes of Arabization and Islamization had probably gone hand in hand and it would be difficult to separate the two. Until the end of the ninth/fifteenth century both developments were almost entirely accomplished

by tribal migration. We have seen how the inhabitants of the Sudan became Arabized and assimilated into the Arab tribal system. After the rise of the Funj Kingdom, there is no evidence of any sizeable Arab migration comparable to that which led to the downfall of Dunqula and Sōba. There was probably no more than sporadic migration of individuals.

According to one version of the Funj Chronicle, after the Arab victory over the *Nūba*, the majority of them dispersed and took refuge in Fāzūghlī and Kordofan.[224] Although the exact relation between the ancient Nubians and the hill Nubians of Kordofan is not yet established, the text clearly refers to the inhabitants of 'Alwa. It is, however, difficult to imagine how the majority of the inhabitants of 'Alwa were pushed away towards the *Nūba* hills; it seems most likely that only a minority was subjected to such a fate, and these might have been among the inhabitants who fought the Arabs at Sōba.

Those who remained behind, in the words of a native writer, adopted Islam, exchanged their language for Arabic, and mixed with the Arabs to such a degree that it would be difficult to discover their origin.[225] This remark refers to the assimilation of the Arabs into the indigenous population rather than the reverse. However, the dominance of Arabic culture suggests, among other factors, that the Arab invaders arrived in large numbers and came to exercise a considerable influence over the life of the local population. Indeed, when Bruce travelled the country of the Ja'aliyyīn towards the end of the eighteenth century, he saw no distinction between the indigenous population, who were already Arabized, and the Arabs (probably meaning nomads), except that the former continued to live in mud houses beside the river bank, while the latter lived in tents.[226]

The degree of Arabization varies from tribe to tribe and differs among the various branches of a single tribe.

When Burckhardt visited the land of the Ja'aliyyīn at the beginning of the nineteenth century he observed "the true Djaalein beduins who come from the eastern desert are much fairer-skinned than the inhabitants on the bank of the Nile. . . . I was much struck with the physiognomy of many of these Djaalein who had exactly the countenance and expression of features of the beduins of eastern Arabia. . . ."[227] Compared with those Arabs who assumed a sedentary life and the Arabized Nubians, the Arab nomads—sheep and camel breeders—were perhaps less mixed with the indigenous population. For one thing, they did not need many slaves to help them in herding their livestock, nor did their continuous pastoral existence require any domestic help or extra labour, and, therefore, the chances of intermixture were greatly reduced. To illustrate this point, the most recent Arab immigrants—the Rashāyda and the Zubaydiyya—who came across the Red Sea in the nineteenth century[228] have continued to lead a nomadic life and have hardly mixed at all.

It would seem, however, that despite the tremendous impact of Arabic as the language of Islam, and possibly of trade, its adoption by the majority of the population as a *lingua franca* took many generations. Indeed, the Nubians and the Beja, the first people of the Sudan to have contacts with the Arabs, continue to speak their own language.

In conclusion, the slow Arab penetration which commenced in the early decades of Islam in the form of frontier clashes reached a climax in the eighth–ninth/fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, when the Arab tribes overran most of the country. By the tenth/sixteenth century a culturally Arabized stock emerged as a result of at least two centuries of close contact between the Arabs and the inhabitants of the Sudan. Regardless of a few exceptions, the term Arab was progressively being emptied of nearly all its ethnic significance.

(6)

THE PROGRESS OF ISLAM

BEFORE the rise of the Funj Kingdom the dissemination of Islamic doctrine, to recapitulate what has already been stated in various parts of this study, was probably the work of two distinct groups of people. The first were the traders who acted as propagators of the Muslim faith and whose commercial contacts were more than nine centuries old. The combination of commercial activity with proselytization has always been a conspicuous phenomenon on the margin of Islamic territory.

The second were the Arab tribes who overran the Sudan. Most of these probably, like all nomads, were imperfectly Islamized, and were not moved by any missionary zeal; yet they were largely responsible for the Islamization of the peoples of the Sudan. This was achieved primarily by intermarriage with the local population. In other words, the process of Arabization was accompanied by a process of Islamization. The nomads were neither well versed in Islamic dogma nor literate; but to disseminate the simple teachings and practices of Islam does not require a high measure of literacy. To declare the *Shahāda* or act of faith is all that is required. Other duties can be taught without the help of the written word.

The efforts of both groups were not the only influence. Some '*Ulamā*' (learned men) might have entered the Sudan during the dark period from the early eighth/fourteenth to the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, but there is no reference to this in Arabic sources. Local traditions,

however, speak of the arrival of two religious teachers. The first, already referred to in a different context, was Ghulām Allāh b. ʿĀʾid who came, possibly in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century, to Dunqula. He remained there because, to quote the words of a native writer: "[Dunqula] was in extreme perplexity and error for lack of learned men. When he settled there he built the mosques and taught the Qur'ān and religious sciences. . . ."[1] The essentials of this statement regarding the religious level of the people do not differ from the pronouncement of John the Syrian about the end of Christianity in ʿAlwa where he says, ". . . and the people are neither Christians, Moors nor Jews. . . ."[2] Indeed, the two statements refer to a time when the old religion was dying away and the new one had not yet taken root.

The second teacher was Ḥamad Abū Dunāna, who in about the ninth/fifteenth century settled at Saqādī al-Gharb, west of al-Maḥmiyya.[3] Ḥamad, who claimed descent from the Prophet,[4] was believed to be the son-in-law of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. *c.* 869–75/1465–70), the initiator of the Shādhaliyya order of *Ṣūfis* in Morocco.[5] Ḥamad had apparently come to propagate the Shādhaliyya order, which was perhaps the first *Ṣūfi* order to be introduced into the Sudan. Three of Ḥamad's daughters were connected with distinguished men: the first was married to ʿAbdallāh Jammāʿ;[6] the second was the mother of Shaykh Idrīs wad al-Arbāb, the famous Maḥasī holy man who flourished in the first century of the Funj sultanate;[7] and the third was the mother of another holy man, Ḥāmid Abū ʿĀṣā, the ancestor of the ʿUmarāb Jaʿaliyyīn.[8]

Although the influence of Ghulām Allāh as a religious teacher and that of Abū Dunāna as a *Ṣūfi* missionary cannot be estimated, they stand as the forerunners of the religious men who flourished in the Funj Kingdom. However, the effect of these two men could not have

been great. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt* commented that when the Funj came to power ". . . there flourished neither schools of learning nor reading of the Qur'ān; it is said that a man might divorce his wife and she be married by another man the self-same day without any period of probation (*'idda*), until Shaykh Maḥmūd al-'Arakī came from Egypt and taught the people to observe the laws of the *'idda* . . . then in the second half of the tenth [sixteenth] century A. H. Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Būlādī came from Egypt to the Shā'iqiya country where he taught Khalil and the 'Risala, whence learning and knowledge of law spread to the Jazīra. Then after a short time Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Bahārī came from Baghdād and introduced the path of the Ṣūfīs into the Funj country. . . ."[9] Such names fill the pages of the *Ṭabaqāt*.

This passage summarizes well, not only the religious state of affairs at the rise of the Funj Kingdom, but also the manner in which the proper Islamization of the country began. The above quotation may be amplified as follows.

Maḥmūd al-'Arakī was born on the White Nile and studied in Egypt. He was a pupil of Nāṣir al-Dīn (857–935/1453–1528–9) and Shams al-Dīn (873–958/1468–1551) al-Luqānī, the two distinguished Egyptian jurists.[10] After the completion of his studies he returned to the Gezira where he established a school to teach religious subjects. Maḥmūd was reported to be the first to have introduced a systematic knowledge of Muslim law into the Gezira. His example seems to have been followed by his disciples, for no less than seventeen schools flourished between the junction of the two Niles and al-Ays just north of the island of Abā.[11]

Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Būlādī b. Jābir b. 'Awn b. Salīm b. Ribāṭ b. Ghulām Allāh b. 'Ā'id was one of four brothers,[12] all of whom were distinguished men of religion.[13] Ibrāhīm was born in the country of the Shāyqiyya and

like Maḥmūd al-ʿArakī, studied law in Egypt. He read Mālikī law under the head of the Mālikī school in Egypt, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Banūfarī (d. *c.* 998/1590).[14] When he returned to his home he introduced the study of the two standard Mālikī books, namely the *Risāla* of Abū Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996) and the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isʿḥāq (d. 766/1365).[15] He then travelled to *Bilād al-Funj* or the southern region of the Gezira and taught the compendium of Khalīl. The teachings of Ibrāhīm and his students laid the foundation of the increasing recognition of the Mālikī School in the Funj Kingdom.

Although the period of Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Bahārī lies outside the scope of this study, a brief note may be of value in determining the origins of one of the most important *Ṣūfī* orders in the Funj Kingdom. Unlike Maḥmūd al-ʿArakī and Ibrāhīm al-Būlādī, Tāj al-Dīn was essentially a missionary of the Qādiriyya order established by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī (470–561/1077–1166). While on pilgrimage in Mecca, Tāj al-Dīn met a man from the Sudan and accompanied him on his return, staying in the Gezira for seven years, during which time he initiated a number of people into the Qādiriyya order.[16] The leaders of such *Ṣūfī* orders as the Shādhāliyya and the Qādiriyya came, like ordinary '*Ulamā*', to play an important role in the religious life of the country.

The establishment of a Muslim dynasty in a country considered until recently to be part of *Dār al-Ḥarb* was bound to attract teachers from *Dār al-Islām*. From places like the Maghrib, Egypt, the Ḥijaz, the Yemen, and Baghdad, men brought Muslim law and mysticism. Some might have been moved by a noble ambition to further the cause of Islam; others were probably induced by the hope of a better career in the newly Islamized kingdom. The cordial welcome received by David Reubeni at the hands of King ʿUmāra, shows that the Funj sultans

favoured the presence of learned men in their country, and possibly encouraged them to come. The king was probably moved by various motives but mainly by the desire to enhance his prestige as a patron of the '*Ulamā*' and holy men, and thus to win the goodwill of his Muslim subjects.

Furthermore, the king's encouragement and the favours he showed to the '*Ulamā*' and missionaries of the *Ṣūfi* orders, may have increased their prestige in the eyes of the people, thus facilitating their chances of spreading the teachings of Islam. This does not imply that there is any record of compulsory conversion. It seems to me that the progress of Islamization was greatly assisted by the immense impact of the Arabs and the influence of the Muslim rulers. "The vanquished", says Ibn Khaldūn "always seek to imitate their victors in their dress, insignia, belief and other customs and usages."[17]

Thus, it is true to say that the supremacy of Islam in the Sudan dates from the rise of an Islamized dynasty. The stage was set for the further progress of Arabization and Islamization which would ultimately achieve two results: the creation of a feeling of cohesion among the heterogeneous inhabitants of the country and its gradual absorption into the Arab world.

APPENDIX

A survey of the major Arabic sources of the history of the Sudan in the Middle Ages

THE history of the Christian kingdoms of al-Maris, al-Muqurra, and 'Alwa is still obscure owing to the scarcity of local contemporary records. The extant records, written mainly in the Nubian, Coptic, and Greek languages, contain short remarks dealing mainly with religious matters.[1] The incidental historical data that have survived are sketchy, sometimes full of exaggerations, and at times contradicting other evidence.[2] The archaeological remains of the Christian era, although extremely important, have not been excavated fully nor studied satisfactorily.[3] The history of 'Alwa is even more obscure than that of Northern Nubia owing to its remoteness from Egypt,[4] and because of the disappearance of archaeological remains owing to adverse climatic conditions. An analysis of contemporary local records and of archaeological evidence is to be found in works of such scholars as Crowfoot, Monneret de Villard, and Arkell.[5]

Happily, owing to the increasing contacts between Egypt and the Sudan, this dark period is made less obscure by numerous references in Arabic writings, from the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt down to the fall of Dunqula in the eighth/fourteenth century. There is a considerable body of information in medieval Arabic writings. This is to be found in various types of sources which may be classified as follows:

(1) *Chronicles*: these form the most important group of the Arabic sources. They describe relations be-

tween Egypt and the Muslim world on one hand and the Christian kingdoms and the Beja country on the other, and are primarily concerned with matters of war and trade. The Chronicles of Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Muyassar, al-Maqrīzī, to mention just a few, will be discussed in some detail in chronological order along with others.

(2) *Biographies*: the biographies of three Mamluk sultans by Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, who served them as a secretary, are principally of interest.

(3) *Biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias*: the former category includes such works as *Ta'rīkh baṭārīqat al-kanīsa al-Miṣriyya* of Severus, and *al-Durar al-kāmina* of Ibn Ḥajar. The latter are voluminous works which deal with a wide range of Muslim knowledge. The three best encyclopedias were written by al-Nuwayrī, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, and al-Qalqashandī.

(4) *Travellers' Accounts*: with the increase of Arab interest in the Sudan, and the opening of the trade route through the eastern desert, many travellers visited the country. The foremost among these is Aḥmad b. Sulaym al-Aswānī whose account is a mixture of historical and geographical description. The Persian, Nāṣir-ī Khusraw, and the Spanish Muslim Ibn Jubayr wrote relevant accounts.

(5) *Topographical works*: these assist to complete the tenuous picture painted by contemporary Arabic records about the country and its people. They include the works of such geographers as Ibn Khurdādhbih, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Mas'ūdī, and al-Idrīsī. Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān* may also be included among these. Certain historical data are sometimes to be found in these sources.

(6) *Treatises on Arab tribes*: these deal with the Arab tribes in Egypt and its borders, and include those

written by al-Qalqashandī and al-Maqrīzī.
(7) The one anomalous work among the literary sources is Ibn Buṭlān's treatise on the slave trade.
(8) In a few cases literary evidence is corroborated by Arabic inscriptions found on tombstones at Bāḍiʿ, Khōr Nubt, Wādī al-ʿAllāqī, al-Marīs, and an inscription in the mosque of Dunqula. The flow of gold from the land of the mines is mentioned in two papyri. A unique piece of silk records the marriage contract of a member of the Kanz dynasty to his cousin. This non-literary evidence will not be discussed further except when it is quoted.[6]

Chronological study of literary sources

During the third/ninth century, several books of geography dealing mainly with *al-Masālik wa l-mamālik*, or routes and kingdoms, were compiled. Abū'l Qāsim ʿAbdallāh b. Khurdadhbih's description: *Kitāb al-masālik wa l-mamālik* was written in 231/845.[7] Ibn Khurdādhbih lived in the province of al-Jabal in Persia. His work is probably the oldest Arabic geographical book and served primarily as an official guide. The author like many after him collected his material from *dīwān al-Khabar* or *Ṣāḥib al-barīd* (the director of post and Intelligence) and from merchants. Ibn Khurdādhbih's references to the Sudan, though sparse, provide the earliest data in Arabic. He also gives some information on early Muslim contacts with Nubia.[8]

The earliest information on Nubian-Muslim relations is found in *Futūḥ Miṣr wa akhbārihā* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Hakam al-Qurashī (187–257/803–871). Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam was brought up in Egypt,[9] a member of a highly cultivated Mālikī Arab family. Like other members of his family he was well versed in *fiqh* and was by training a collector of traditions. His

father 'Abdallāh (155–214/772–830) was the head of the Mālikī school in Egypt and wrote books on law. His three brothers, Muḥammad, 'Abd al-Ḥakam, and Sa'd were equally distinguished jurists.[10] Although Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam was, like his contemporaries al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), a pioneer in compiling history from masses of oral and written traditions, he was basically more of a *Traditionist*, or *muḥadith*, and a jurist than a historian. It is to be noted that until then the sources on history and legal matters were almost identical and that there is no clear line of demarcation between the two. Of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's book only three pages are relevant to the present study, and these deal mainly with the treaties that the Muslims concluded with the *Nūba* and the Beja.[11] The fact that the first agreement was recorded almost two centuries after the invasion and the legal bias of the author, who writes as a jurist, may cast some doubt on the historical authenticity of the material.[12]

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's chief authorities for the section on the Sudan were Yazīd b. Abi Ḥabīb and Ibn Lahī'ah. Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb the Nubian (53–128/673–746) was the son of Suwayd who was captured in the Dunqula campaign of 31/652. Yazīd soon distinguished himself as a leading legal authority in Egypt. He does not quote his father but the Muslim elders whom he met in Egypt, including a companion of the Prophet. Yazīd is believed to have been a reliable authority.[13] However, nearly all his traditions came through 'Abdallāh b. Lahī'ah (96–174/715–91), whose judgment as transmitter or *rāwī* is not beyond question.[14] Fortunately there is hardly any difference between traditions quoted by Ibn Lahī'ah and others from Yazīd. Ibn Lahī'ah also quotes al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd (d. 130/748) whose traditions are described in more detail though dealing with the same subject.[15] These traditions were transmitted by an intermediary. On other

occasions Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam quotes his teachers whom he does not name.[16] It may be said, anticipating a full evaluation of the text and comparison with other sources, that Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's data are probably juristic rather than historical in origin. However, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's material is extensively used by later historians.

Futūḥ al-buldān of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jābir al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), who lived in Baghdad, is a concise history of the early Arab conquests. The part that concerns us here may conveniently be divided into two sections. The first deals with the Muslim settlement with Nubia in which al-Balādhurī, like Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, names his sources quoting the chain of transmitters. Like Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, too, he depends largely on Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb through Ibn Lahī'ah. However, he also quotes al-Layth b. Sa'd (94–175/713–92) the celebrated jurist, who was highly spoken of as a man of integrity and reliability.[17] Besides this he quotes Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb and his contemporary 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Ja'far (60–132/680–750), also a distinguished jurist.[18] It is pertinent to comment that al-Layth b. Sa'd is probably giving a legal opinion rather than providing historical data.[19] Al-Balādhurī also quotes a tradition of which the ultimate source is a Himyarite elder who witnessed the Nubian campaigns, and gives a slightly different version of the same account.[20] In the second section which deals with the adjustment of the *Baqṭ* treaty and al-Qummī's campaign against the Beja, he does not name his authorities and was probably quoting sources contemporary with these events.[21]

In al-Balādhurī's larger work, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, most of which is still unpublished, he speaks of the flight of the children of Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last Umayyad caliph, through the Sudan.[22] This incident is very important as it constitutes the basis of a much later Sudanese tradition concerning the origin of the Funj.

A fuller and a more expanded account which tallies in essentials with that of al-Balādhurī is found in *al-'Iqd al-farīd* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Rabbih (264–328/878–940).[23] Indeed in relating this story and that of al-Qummī, al-Balādhurī was more concise than one would have expected.[24]

The geographer, Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Ja'far b. Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbī was a freedman of an 'Abbasid prince. He wrote a compendium of history called *Ta'rīkh Ibn Wāḍiḥ*, extending the narrative down to 259/872. In it he devoted a few pages to the description and history of five Beja tribal divisions and the kingdoms of Nubia and 'Alwa. In the latter part of his life, al-Ya'qūbī went to Egypt, where in 278/891 he compiled his celebrated geography, *Kitāb al-buldān*, for which he collected his material from contemporary literature, and from discussions with travellers.[25] His presence in Egypt coincided with the initial Arab rush to the gold mines in the Sudan. He enumerated the names of mines and names of Arab tribes engaged in the mining activities.[26]

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faqīh al-Hamdānī, a native of Hamdān in Persia, is the author of a geographical description that survives in an abridged form made by a certain 'Ali Shayzarī, which he called *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*.[27] This book, although a summary of the preceding geographical literature, contains certain passages that do add fresh material. Three examples will suffice: he quotes a tradition attributed to the Prophet praising the Nubians, in another he speaks of the Nubians as Jacobites, while in a third he refers to the Takuna people who lived beyond 'Alwa.[28]

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (224–310/838–922) is the author of *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, a continuous history from the Creation down to the year 302/915. He was born in Ṭabaristān from where he moved to Baghdad, Syria, and Egypt to complete his studies.

In his annals he was essentially a "Traditionist in approach",[29] paying meticulous attention to the series of transmitters, without trying to construct a comprehensive narrative. Although al-Ṭabarī was concerned mainly with the central lands of Islam, on at least three occasions he gives valuable information on the Sudan. Quoting al-Wāqidī (130–207/747–822), he refers to the earliest migration of an Arab to Bādiʿ.[30] Al-Ṭabarī mentions the earliest settlement with the Nubians; this information is related on an authority other than that of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and al-Balādhurī.[31] Lastly, he gives a detailed account of al-Qummī's expedition into the Beja country but without naming his authority.[32] Al-Ṭabarī's life was almost contemporaneous with this event, and during his stay in Baghdad, where the campaign was ordered, he might have gleaned his information from the court.

In the second half of the third/tenth century the Land of the Mines, in the Sudan, witnessed the activities of the Arab adventurer ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿUmarī, which alarmed Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (254–70/868–84) who sent punitive expeditions. The story of these campaigns is given in three contemporary chronicles: *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn* by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. al-Dāya (d. 330/941 or 340/951); another work with the same title by ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī (d. 330/940–1); and *Kitāb al-wulāt wa kitāb al-quḍāt* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī (283–350/897–961). Al-Kindī refers to the incident in passing,[33] Ibn al-Dāya gives a brief summary,[34] while al-Balawī treats it more fully.[35] However, a fuller treatment is preserved in *al-Muqaffā* of al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441).[36]

Before 340/951–2, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. *c.* 340/951) added another *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik* to the geographical literature. This work is no more than a new edition of a similar book by Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī (d. 322/934) whose work is no longer extant.[37] Although not adding very much to our

knowledge of the Sudan, it does contain a significant fact about the slave trade.[38] However, the contents of the two accounts, that is, of al-Balkhī and al-Iṣṭakhrī, were embodied in *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* of Abū'l-Qāsim b. Ḥawqal (d. after 367/977). Little is known of the life of Ibn Ḥawqal, but he says that he left Baghdad in 331/943 to trade and to acquaint himself with other countries. He toured all the Muslim world and, about 340/951, he met al-Iṣṭakhrī, who asked him to improve his own account.[39] Ibn Ḥawqal rewrote the whole work, amended the maps, and added new information, especially on the Beja and 'Alwa.[40] His detailed description of 'Alwa may justify his claim to have visited that region,[41] while his intimate knowledge of the Beja country was based on what he saw himself and heard from travellers. One of his authorities was a certain Abū al-Manī' Kathīr b. Aḥmad al-Ja'dī of Aswān, who furnished him with traditions on the early Muslim attack on the Beja.[42]

Abū l-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956 or 346/957) was one of the most productive Arab writers of the fourth century of Islam. His writings covered both history and geography. After spending his youth in Baghdad, he travelled widely, visiting India, Ceylon, and Egypt.[43] His works, the majority of which have been lost, lack systematic treatment but touch upon a wide range of topics: geography, ethnography, and history. A look at his two important books *Murūj al-dhahab* and *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf* will reveal these characteristics. Al-Mas'ūdī's material on the Sudan is of two main types: historical data, and the description of current events. The first he derived from earlier Arabic sources, which he must have studied although he does not name them. On one occasion it can easily be detected that he copied Ibn al-Faqīh without material change.[44] The fact that much of his information cannot be traced in earlier sources makes his work indispensable. To quote

but one example: al-Masʿūdī states that the Kings of Nubia claimed Himyaritic descent—a fact not to be found elsewhere.[45] Al-Masʿūdī's information about his contemporary, Bishr b. Marwān, the chief of the Rabīʿa and the "owner" of the gold mines, is equally useful. He enumerates the different types of precious stones found there, and then shows the extent of contemporary Muslim penetration into al-Marīs.[46] He states that if he was unable to visit a place, he quoted from people who had been there.[47]

No account deals as fully with the history or geography of Sudan in the Middle Ages as ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Sulaym al-Aswānī's *Kitāb akhbār al-Nūba wa'l-Muqurra wa'Alwa wa'l-Buja wa'l-Nīl*. Ibn Sulaym was a Fatimid *daʿī* or emissary, sent to Nubia on a special mission by the Fatimid general Jawhar after the conquest of Egypt. The probable date of his journey was 365/975.[48] After trying to persuade King George of Nubia to adopt the Islamic faith and to resume the payment of the *Baqṭ*, Ibn Sulaym travelled to the Kingdom of ʿAlwa.[49] There is no evidence that he actually toured the Beja country, but his appellation al-Aswānī indicates that he had close connections with Aswān, which borders on the Beja country and which was frequented by Bejāwī traders.

Ibn Sulaym recorded his observations and certain historical facts relating to Muslim Nubian relationships during the first centuries of Islam. Unfortunately the book is known only from the excerpts transcribed by al-Maqrīzī in *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa'l iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*,[50] and by Ibn Iyās in *Nashaq al-azhār fi ʿajā'ib al-aqṭār*.[51] By comparing the two texts, it is clear that the latter is an abridgement of the former, reproduced with a few variations and interpolations from al-Masʿūdī and Ibn Jubayr, which also appear in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*. The frequent use of *qāl*, "said", and *iʿlam*, "know", in al-Maqrīzī's excerpts can be taken to indicate that he copied

the original without many alterations; however, in his final sentence he admits that he had summarized it from Ibn Sulaym's book.[52]

Akhbār al-Nūba is one of the earliest attempts to write an account of that country in a systematic manner. It deals with four aspects: geography, contemporary events, historical background, and legends.

(1) The geographical description includes a somewhat detailed survey of the towns, inhabitants, rivers, and cultivation. It is probably the most reliable description of the Sudan of that period, and remains the standard work in this respect.

(2) For contemporary events, Ibn Sulāym's observations are invaluable. They include topics dealing with religious beliefs, the rulers of the country, Muslim penetration in al-Marīs and 'Alwa, and the subjugation of the Zanāfij to the Ḥadāriba.

(3) The historical background discloses some aspects of early relations between the Muslims and the inhabitants of the Sudan, particularly concerning the Beja, for which, by and large, no authority is mentioned. However, when relating the first Muslim attacks on the Beja, Ibn Sulaym names his authority as Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, whom he copied word for word.[53] Again when speaking of the Beja people he quotes on one occasion *Kitāb al-ajnās* (The Book of Races), which he attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[54] It is an established Shī'ī practice to attribute later works to 'Alī. By so doing the writer of the book perhaps wanted to lend more authority to his work or to honour the *Imām* 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. This instance of a faulty attribution does not in my opinion affect the validity of Ibn Sulaym's information. In general Ibn Sulaym is less informative about early Muslim contacts with the Sudan than other sources: for example his account of the Muslim mining activities in the

Beja country tallies with the general picture, but is very scanty compared with al-Ya'qūbī's detailed description.[55] On the Muslim attack on the Beja in 240/854 al-Ṭabarī has more to say.[56] Both accounts were perhaps summarized from these earlier sources. Nevertheless, Ibn Sulaym has preserved the fullest account yet discovered of 'Abdallāh b. al-Jahm's settlement with the Beja.[57] Al-Ṭabarī only refers to this settlement in passing, stating that he has already discussed it; but there is no trace of it in his annals. Therefore, it may be assumed that Ibn Sulaym was fairly well acquainted with the historical literature on the Sudan.

(4) The least important aspect of Ibn Sulaym's narrative is concerned with the different types of legends which sprang from various origins and motives; for example, the alleged attack of the Prophet Mūsā on Nubia, and the supernatural assistance thought to be rendered by the *jinnīs* or spirits in cultivating and harvesting the vast lands of 'Alwa.[58] The former has some religious and historical significance, while the latter is perhaps an attempt to explain some peculiarity of agriculture.

Certain passages in *Akhbār al-Nūba*, for reasons of topography and chronology, must be regarded as interpolation. One deals with the extension of the rule of Banū'l-Kanz over Nubia in the early decades of the eighth/fourteenth century; another is a description of Kānim in which Ibn Sulaym had not set foot. Lastly he could not possibly have witnessed the construction of the Malikite school at Cairo in 640/1242 because this was after his time.[59]

Al-Mukhtār b. al-Ḥasan b. Buṭlān (d. 455/1063) was a Christian physician who wrote the unique *Risāla fī sharyy al-raqīq wa taqlīb al-'abīd* on the qualities, uses and methods of sale of various slaves. He drew mainly from

his vast experience and from information he collected from slave-brokers.[60]

Another excellent historical source also from the pen of a Christian is *Ta'rīkh baṭārīqat al-kanīsa al-Miṣriyya* or History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, compiled by Abū Bishr. Sāwīrus (or Severus) b. al-Muqaffa', the bishop of Ashmūnayn, a contemporary of the Fatimid caliph, al-'Azīz (365–86/975–96), who allowed him to dispute matters of doctrine with Muslim scholars.[61] However, as the narrative continues down to approximately 495/1102, it must have been concluded by another hand.[62] This work sheds light on the history of the Nubian Church which was in close contact with the see of Alexandria, particularly in the Fatimid period. It also preserved, among other things, a tradition of a Nubian attack on Egypt in the latter days of the Umayyad caliphate about which Arabic sources are silent. For the early part of his history, Severus relied on Greek and Coptic documents preserved in the monastery of Saint Macarius; then he drew extensively from the biography of the Patriarch Khā'il written by a contemporary, John the Deacon.[63] In the last part there are references to current events and accounts of the emissaries that travelled between Egypt and Nubia. It is equally important for corroborating the facts contained in the Chronicle of Ibn Muyassar.[64]

The geographers of the fifth/eleventh century followed the same method as their predecessors by adding to the already established body of information. The best known among them is the Spanish Muslim geographer 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), who composed the voluminous compendium *al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* of which only parts dealing with North Africa have been published.[65] In the manuscript, there is a reference to the Arab tribes in the region of 'Aydhāb and the reasons for the decline of the mines.[66]

Soon, however, this tradition of geographical literature gave way to an increasing number of travellers' accounts. Some of these travellers crossed the eastern desert. The 'Aydhāb-Qūṣ route was used frequently during the Fatimid caliphate for carrying the Eastern trade. The popularity of this route was confirmed by the shift of the pilgrim caravans from the Sinai route when that was endangered by the Crusaders. Three of these travellers—Nāṣir-ī Khusraw, Ibn Jubayr, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa—left accounts of their journeyings. The earliest of these was the Persian, Nāṣir-ī Khusraw (d. 481/1088), who visited Egypt in 439/1047 and then left Cairo for Mecca travelling via 'Aydhāb. He arrived there on 20 Rabī' I, 442/22 August 1050. His *Safar nāma* was written in Persian.[67] His account is informative especially in dealing with the frontier town of Aswān and the rising port of 'Aydhāb.[68]

Al-Sharīf Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Idrīsī (*c.* 493–560/1100–65) composed a systematic geographical work with elaborate maps, *Nuẓhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*. He wrote under the patronage of the Norman king of Sicily Roger II (1101–54). By and large al-Idrīsī owed much of his knowledge to his predecessors,[69] but his account of the Sudan contains much new material of unknown provenance. Gibb said that al-Idrīsī obtained his data from "observers in different countries".[70] Al-Idrīsī speaks of the Baliyyūn people, the unidentified Beja town of Bukhta, to which the best Bejāwī camels were attributed, and of 'Aydhāb.[71] The whole section relevant to the Sudan was published in an abridged form in *De Geographia Universali*, Rome, 1592. The first half of the work was included in Dozy and de Goeje's edition of 1864, known as *ṣifat al-maghrib wa arḍ al-Sūdān wa Miṣr wa'l-Andalus*, while the full text is still in a manuscript form at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The Spanish Muslim, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Jubayr (d. 614/1217) visited 'Aydhāb in 579/1183 on his way to

Mecca. His diary or *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, is well written. In it he paints a moving picture of the hardships that pilgrims faced at the hands of the merciless inhabitants of ʿAydhāb. He also vividly described the caravan routes between Upper Egypt and the coast, the merchandise carried, and the voyage from ʿAydhāb to Jedda.[72] It may be noted in passing that al-Maqrīzī made use of this description in his *Khiṭaṭ* without acknowledgement.[73]

Kitāb muʿjam al-buldān of Yāqūt b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥamawī (564–626/1168–1229) is a very useful geographical lexicon particularly in explaining place names. Although Yāqūt derived most of his material from earlier sources, which can, at times, be traced, some useful material is preserved only in his dictionary.[74] Mez says that Yāqūt drew his information on the Sudan from a lost book of geography written by al-Muḥallabī about 375/985 to the Fatimid caliph al-ʿAzīz. This was, according to the same authority, the first detailed description of *Bilād al-Sūdān*.[75]

A fairly vivid picture of the Nubian church and its institutions is preserved in Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī's account, *Taʾrīkh al-Shaykh Abī Ṣālīḥ al-Armanī, tudkhar fīh akhbār min nawāḥī Miṣr wa iqṭāʿihā*, which has been published under the title *The churches and monasteries of Egypt and neighbouring countries*. The book was probably written in the early years of the seventh/thirteenth century but is preserved for us only in an abridged form.[76] Abū Ṣāliḥ does not mention his sources for the section of his book dealing with Nubia, but it is clear that he utilized the biographies of Severus extensively. Although Abū Ṣāliḥ shows himself to be knowledgeable on the Nubian church, his editor doubts whether he had actually penetrated even as far as Ikhmīm.[77] It is, however, highly probable that he gathered part of his information from Nubian envoys or priests sent to Nubia by the Patriarch of Alexandria.[78]

'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Athīr al-Jazarī (555–630/1160–1233) was brought up in al-Mawṣil, where he continued to live. He studied under scholars in Baghdad, Damascus, and Jerusalem. Ibn al-Athīr was a prominent historian who wrote a number of books of which the most important is his universal history *al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, which continues up to the year 629/1231–2. The first volumes of this work are no more than a concise outline of al-Ṭabarī's annals, with additions from other sources, and is only useful as a general background. However, as a contemporary of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, whose activities affected the Sudan, Ibn al-Athīr's account, although slightly different from other sources like Abū Shāma, is enlightening.[79]

The same material is related in *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī ta'rīkh al-dawlatayn*, the history of the Zengids and Ayyubid dynasties, by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl Abū Shāma (599–665/1203–67). Reduced to its essentials, Abū Shāma's work is an accurate compilation of valuable documents and quotations from first-hand records which are no longer extant. He quotes the chronicles of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib (d. 597/1201), al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1199), and Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṭayy' (d. *c.* 630/1232). The first two were in the service of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.[80]

'Alī b. Mūsā b. Sa'īd al-Andalusī (d. 673/1274) wrote a systematic and a more condensed geographical treatise than that of al-Idrīsī from whom he derived some of his material. Ibn Sa'īd's geography, *Basṭ al-arḍ-fī'l-ṭūl wa'l'arḍ*, gives exact indications for the geographical location of places and contains some information on *Bilād al-Sūdān* in general. It has been suggested by Kramers that Ibn Sa'īd utilized a lost account of the traveller Abū Fāṭima (d. *c.* 648/1250), who journeyed widely in Africa.[81]

Muḥammad b. Muyassar's (d. 677/1278) Chronicle, *Akhbār Miṣr*, deals with Fatimid Egypt. Wiet has shown

that the Chronicle published by Henri Massé in 1919 under that name is neither the original Chronicle nor the complete text of the second volume as the editor believed. He proved that it is an abridgement of the original, made by al-Maqrīzī, who included most of it with little change in two of his books. Indeed, this is proved by the final sentence of the manuscript, which reads: "The end of the chosen part of the second volume of the history of Egypt by Ibn Muyassar made by Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī in . . . 814/1411". Ibn Muyassar relied largely on the works of al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Zūlāq (d. 387/998), 'Izz al-Mulk b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Musabbaḥī (d. 420/1029), and Abū'l-Ma'mūn (d. *c.* 520/1126), whose accounts on Fatimid Egypt have been lost. The present edition contains a number of textual errors.[82] Ibn Muyassar's account of the revolts of the black Fāṭimī troops is particularly informative.

Muḥyī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Ẓāhir (620–92/1223–92) was a secretary in the chancery, or *dīwān al-inshā'* during the reigns of the first Mamluk sultans in whose days expeditions were sent against Nubia and refractory Arab tribes in Upper Egypt. During this period there were also close contacts with 'Aydhāb and Sawākin. As Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir had access to official documents, he was particularly well informed and ideally suited to write the biographies of the three sultans. The first biography, *al-Rawḍ al-ẓāhir fī sīrat* (*al-malik*) *al-Ẓāhir*,[83] deals with the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars. The second, *Tashrīf 'l-ayyām wa l-'uṣūr fī sīrat al-malik al-Manṣūr* deals with the life of Sulṭan al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn. The third, of which only a small portion remains, is *al-Alṭāf al-khafiyya min al-sīra al-sharīfa al-sulṭāniyya al-ashrafiyya*, which covers the times of Sulṭan al-Ashrāf Khalīl b. Qalā'ūn.[84]

Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī (677–732/1276–1332) wrote one of the three best Mamluk encyclopedias. He filled a number of posts at the court of

al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn including that of a secretary and *Nāẓir al-Jaysh*, or inspector of the army, which must have given him access to the official correspondence and allowed him to meet the important officers of the state.[86] Like his two successors—al-'Umarī and al-Qalqashandī—he included practically all the knowledge of his time in his thirty volumed encyclopedia *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*. The history of this period is contained in his last three volumes which are still unpublished. These contain some excellent material on Muslim activity in Nubia and the Beja country.[87]

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū Ṭālib al-Dimashqī (d. 727/1327) wrote a cosmography called *Nukhbat al-dahr fī 'ajā'ib al-barr wal-baḥr*. The section dealing with the Sudan is particularly detailed as regards the kingdom of 'Alwa and shows how greatly Muslim knowledge of that region had grown. Although the author quotes Arab writers such as al-Idrīsī and al-Musabbiḥī,[87] he drew some of his information from the merchants of Aswān, who traded into the Sudan.

Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (700–48/1301–47) was in the service of the state like many members of his family; he held a number of posts including that of a judge and secretary.[88] In the first of his two major works, *Masālik al-abṣār*, he devoted a chapter of volume three to the history of the Arab tribes in Egypt.[89] In the second work, *al-Ta'rīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, he included some useful information together with letters to the Nubian king and Arab chiefs in the Sudan.

Mufaḍḍal b. Abī al-Faḍā'il was a Coptic writer who lived in Lower Egypt and died after 759/1358, the year in which he finished compiling[90] his continuation of Ibn al-'Amīd's history.[91] Mufaḍḍal's history, *al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa'l-durr al-farīd fī ma ba'd ta'rīkh b. al-'Amīd*, commences with the beginning of the reign of Sultan Baybars. In the early part of the history Mufaḍḍal utilized

the sources at his disposal, which he did not name.[92] His account is, however, more informative in some respects than the standard biographies of Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir. This part is almost identical with that of Ibn al-Furāt and it would seem that both were quoting the same source word by word.[93]

The visits of the traveller Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Baṭṭūṭa (704–79/1304–77) to 'Aydhāb in 726/1326 and in 749/1349, and to Sawākin in 732/1332, enrich our knowledge of these parts and of the Arab tribes who lived in the vicinity.[94] This information is found in his account, *Riḥlāt Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, otherwise known as *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fighara'ib al-amṣār wa'ajā'ib al-asfār*. Sometimes Ibn Baṭṭūṭa seems to exaggerate, but this may be due to the fact that he lost his original manuscript in India and had to dictate his book from memory.[95] In describing the island of Sawākin he put it six miles off the shore, while it is no more than a few hundred yards. However, such an error need not invalidate the whole book.[96]

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Khaldūn (732–808/1332–1405–6) of Tunis is probably the greatest Arabic historian. He wrote a comprehensive general history, *al-'Ibar wa dīwān al-mubtadā' wa'l-khabar*, in which he owed much to his predecessors, particularly Ibn al-Athīr whose *Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh* he abridged, although in later developments he relied on contemporary resources. It is interesting to note that Ibn Khaldūn spent the last years of his distinguished career in Cairo. His remarks on Arab penetration into Nubia are invaluable as a general appreciation of the whole migratory movement into the Sudan.[97] Moreover, unlike many other Arab historians, Ibn Khaldūn applied his critical ability rigorously.

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Duqmāq (d. *c.* 809/1406) wrote a number of historical works which were utilized by al-'Aynī and Ibn Ḥajr al-'Asqalānī.[98] Ibn al-Furāt, too, who was a contemporary of Ibn Duqmāq, says he

derived some of his information on Nubia from him.[99] Only two of Ibn Duqmāq's works have survived: one is *Kitāb al-jawhar al-thamīn fī-'l-khulafā' wa'l-salāṭīn*,[100] a general short history from the caliphate of Abū Bakr to the year 806/1403. The latter part of this sketchy history is a useful corroboration of other accounts. He also wrote a detailed geography of Egypt, *Kitāb al-intiṣār li-wāsiṭat 'iqd al-amṣār*, which includes 'Aydhāb.

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥūm b. al-Furāt (735-807/1334–1405) wrote a detailed chronicle of Muslim history, *Ta'rīkh al-duwal wa'l-mulūk*, called for short *Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, which covers the period between the fourth/ninth and eighth/fourteenth centuries; but on several occasions he writes on earlier events, some of which are difficult to trace in earlier extant sources. From about 671/1271 to the close of the century his account is very informative on Nubia. His narration of the events of the year 674/1275 is probably a close reproduction of the same source that Mufaḍḍal uses—which is perhaps al-Nuwayrī. Although Ibn al-Furāt is in the habit of citing his authorities,[101] he does not mention al-Nuwayrī nor Mufaḍḍal among them. For the remaining years of the seventh/thirteenth century he cites no source.[102]

Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1418) was educated in Cairo in the traditional Muslim manner and at the age of thirty-five joined *Dīwān al-Inshā'* as an official letter writer. He wrote several books in different subjects of which the three best known are: his encyclopedia, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī ṣinā'at al-inshā'*, in which he exhibits the increasing Muslim knowledge of the country south of Aswān; *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma'rifat ansāb al-'Arab*; and *'Iqd al-jumān fī'l-ta'rīf bi-qabā'il 'Arab al-ẓamān*, in which al-Qalqashandī describes the Arab tribes in Egypt and the eastern desert. The last two works, like a similar book by al-Maqrīzī entitled *al-Bayān wa'l-i'rāb 'an-mā bi-arḍ Miṣr min al-a'rāb*, and

like the relevant section of *Masālik al-abṣār*, were entirely based on a lost work by al-Ḥamadānī. Al-Ḥamadānī was a *mihmandār* or an expert on Beduin affairs.[103] He lived in the eighth/fourteenth century. It is interesting to note that al-Maqrīzī did not acknowledge the use of al-Ḥamadānī's account.

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1442), a celebrated Egyptian scholar, wrote historical compilations of great importance because they preserve sources otherwise lost. He was an industrious writer who touched upon many themes of Egyptian history.[104] His writings are mainly detailed *verbatim* extracts from his predecessors, whom he does not always name.[105] Although a painstaking compiler, he lacks the critical approach, and the ability to construct a comprehensive narrative. Nevertheless his selections and abridgements furnish us with a considerable amount of information. Four of his works deserve special mention: (a) the topographical encyclopedia *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa'l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-athār*, in which he preserves Ibn Sulaym's account of the Sudan; (b) *al-Bayān wa'l-iʿrāb ʿan-mā bi-arḍ Miṣr min al-Aʿrāb*, a treatise on Arab tribes: (c) *Kitāb al-sulūk fī maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, a general history of Egypt which is particularly useful for the Mamluk period during part of which al-Maqrīzī was an eyewitness; (d) *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā* is a biographical dictionary of the notables of Egypt including al-Qummī, al-ʿUmarī[106] and Ibn Sulaym, all of whose activities affected the Sudan.

Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852/1371–1449) and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿAynī (762–855/1361–1452) both were contemporaries of al-Maqrīzī and perhaps all rivals in the world of letters.[107] The richness of contemporary accounts afford us the opportunity of textual comparison. Ibn Ḥajar's biographical dictionary of the eighth/fourteenth century, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī*

'ayān al-mi'a al-thāmina, was published at Hyderabad but poorly edited. Part of Ibn Ḥajar's history, *Inbā' al-ghumr bī-anbā' al-'umr* (773–801/1371–1399), was edited by Ḥasan Ḥabashī, although it is still in typescript. On the other hand none of al-'Aynī's books have been printed, although they are worthy of publication. They are valuable because the author was an important government official and his knowledge of Turkish made him especially indispensable to the Mamluk court.[108] He compiled two historical works: *Ta'rīkh al-Badr fī awṣāf ahl al-'aṣr*, which deals with the happenings of the years 719–98/1319–96; and *'Iqd al-jumān fī ta'rīkh ahl al-ẓamān*, a general history of Islam in several volumes whose narrative extends to 850/1446.

Abū'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Taghrī Birdī (812–74/1409–69), the son of a Mamluk, was brought up by his sister, wife of al-Qāḍī Ibn al-'Adīm. After the death of al-Maqrīzī and al-'Aynī he became Egypt's best known historian.[109] He wrote a continuation of al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*; *Ḥawādith al-duhūr fī mādī al-ayyām wa'l-shuhūr*, sections of which have been edited by William Popper; the whole work is in the British Museum. Ibn Taghrī Birdī's general history, *al-Nujūm al-ẓāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira*, begins with the year 20/641 and continues up to the end of his life. In his history he included facts which have been lost or which are not easily discernible in earlier sources.

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (831–903/1428–97–8) was a pupil of Ibn Ḥajar and al-'Aynī, and he carried on their tradition of writing biographies and history. Indeed, up to the year 850/1446[110] he abridged what he collected from the writings of his masters and thereafter recorded the happenings of his own days. He wrote three books: (a) *al-Ḍaw al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, a biographical dictionary of contemporary prominent figures of the ninth/fifteenth century, which contains some useful data about merchants who came to Sawākin;

(b) *Al-Tibr al-masbūk*, or the annals of Egypt, includes events of the years 845–57/1441–53; (c) *Al-Dhayl 'alā duwal al-Islām* is probably a continuation of al-Dhahabī's history, and it covers the events of the years 863–98/1459–94.

Sudanese traditions

For the purpose of this survey the Sudanese traditions will be considered under three categories: the books of *Ansāb* or *nisba*,[111] that is, genealogy; Funj Chronicles; and *Ṭabaqāt wad Ḍayf Allāh*.

Books of Nisbas. Broadly speaking, with the exception of some remarks scattered throughout medieval Arabic writings, our knowledge of the history of the Arab tribes in the Sudan consists almost exclusively of tribal legends and genealogical traditions, which in their present form were collected early in the present century but which, in most cases, claim to incorporate older material.

Most of the genealogical and tribal traditions were collected by H. A. MacMichael of the Sudan Political Service at the beginning of this century. His official position undoubtedly helped him to secure these *nisbas*, which in most cases were handed down by word of mouth and occasionally on pieces of paper, from one generation to another. Judging from my own experience, the owners of these pieces of paper are invariably reluctant to show their valued treasures to people, let alone allow them to be copied, for two reasons: firstly, most of these pedigrees are believed to have been originally written by religious teachers or "holy men" whose *baraka*[112] would disappear if the *nisbas* were seen by ordinary people; secondly, if such information leaked out it might annoy neighbours who are not included in the same pedigree and who, through years of close association, have come to claim the same ancestry.

APPENDIX

The result of MacMichael's research is included in two works: (a) *The tribes of northern and central Kordofan* and, (b) *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, in two volumes. The first book, as the title suggests, is of a limited scope. As the riverain *nisba*-writers were not interested in this region, and perhaps because it lies outside the scope of their knowledge, MacMichael had to rely more or less on oral tradition. Most of these traditions, it appears, were never committed to writing, except in their present form by MacMichael. However, a summary of this account is included in his larger work, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*. The first volume of the second book contains a comprehensive history of the Arab tribes based on Sudanese tribal traditions and classical Arabic sources. The bulk of the tribal traditions and other historical material was translated and incorporated with commentary into the second volume. It is, however, possible to consult the original Arabic copies from which MacMichael made his translation; these copies are kept in the Archives Department of the Ministry of Interior in Khartoum. A critical description of the major tribal traditions used in this study will be given subsequently. To facilitate easy reference to MacMichael's translation the symbols which he used to distinguish these traditions will be retained.

Genealogy BA contains probably the oldest tribal tradition and may go back to the early tenth/sixteenth century. MacMichael saw three different manuscripts of this genealogy, which differ slightly from one another.[113] I have seen two of these, namely that of the Mahdist general al-Nūr 'Anqara, which was copied in its present form in 1325/1907,[114] and that of Shaykh al-'Abbās Muḥammad Badr of Um Ḍubbān, a *qāḍī* of the Khalīfa 'Abdallāh or 'Abdallāhī.[115] Although the second manuscript copy is not dated, it was sent to MacMichael probably at the same time as the first manuscript. As there is hardly any difference between the two, and because

both derive from the same origin,[116] the former manuscript was followed in this study. According to the text of the manuscript this genealogy was copied from a manuscript of al-Fakī Muḥammad al-Fakī al-Nūr al-Jābrābī whose father copied it from his father, Jābir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAwn[117] b. Salīm b. Rubāṭ, and the manuscript appears to have been written or compiled by al-Sharīf al-Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sharīf b. al-Ṭāhir b. al-Sayyid ʿĀʾid. This chain of authorities is ultimately connected with the Rikābiyya, the descendants of Ghulām Allāh b. ʿĀʾid, the Yemenite, who migrated to Dunqula towards the end of the eighth/fourteenth century.[118] It was computed that al-Sharīf al-Ṭāhir, the author of the [first] manuscript, lived towards the end of the ninth/fifteenth century.[119] All that can be said for certain is that this genealogy originated somewhere in Dunqula among the Rikābiyya family. Of the very few dates given in this manuscript the last, 1235/1821,[120] refers to the Turco-Egyptian Conquest.

This pedigree, like most other genealogies, has three characteristics. First, the compiler states reasons for writing it; by quotations from the Prophet and his Companions he suggests that such a knowledge is an act of piety. An often quoted tradition is: "Learn from your lineage enough to enable you to maintain contact with your relatives". Most of the quotations mentioned in this pedigree are, incidentally, related by Ibn Khaldūn.[121] But the obvious reason seems that the owners of the *nisbas* would not like their noble Arab ancestry to be confused with that of the indigenous population. This attitude implies a feeling of superiority among the descendants of the Arab immigrants. Secondly, the bulk of the *nisba* is a bare list of names showing the lineage continuously from father to son. As the Arab genealogical traditions are almost invariably patrilineal, there is hardly any mention of the names and origins of mothers,

many of whom were undoubtedly non-Arab. Broadly speaking, the inter-relations of Sudanese Arabs is standardized into four sections: two major branches, the Ja'alī-'Abbāsī and the Juhayna, and two minor branches, the Ashrāf (singular sharīf) or the descendants of the Prophet's family, and the Banū Umayya. Thirdly, the *nisba*-writer invariably enumerates the major Arab tribes and the different branches of Quraysh.[122] Concerning Quraysh, the author seems to have quoted a number of learned men whose identity cannot certainly be established, except for al-Ajhūrī (d. 1066/1655–6), the head of the Mālikī school in Egypt, whose classes were attended by a number of Sudanese.[123]

Genealogy BA is probably a typical example of the oldest and commonest pedigree.[124] The following genealogical manuscripts contain more or less the same data, with some variants, and in certain instances more information is added. I have seen a large number of pedigrees in addition to those collected by MacMichael. These, I believe, are no more than extracts from the same origin as the BA Genealogy. The only difference is that the owners of such copies claim them to be part of al-Samar-qandi's book of pedigrees, a point that will be discussed later.

Genealogy AB was compiled by Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Azharī of the Bidayriyya tribe who studied in al-Azhar University approximately between 1246–56/1830–40. The author states that he was instructed by the head of the Isṁā'īliyya[125] order, to which the family of the author belonged, to compile the genealogical record of their ancestor, al-Fakī Bishāra al-Gharbāwī back to al-'Abbās and 'Adnān, and of their descendants. He collected several books of pedigrees dealing with the Ja'alī tribes and other Arabs. Among these, the author claims there was a manuscript made by his grandfather, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Bishāra, from a manuscript of al-Sharīf Surūr in Mecca.[126] There is no evidence that Meccan "*ulamā*" (learned men)

knew more about the pedigrees of the Arabs who migrated to the Sudan centuries earlier, and the claim that some of these books of pedigrees originated from Mecca is therefore dubious. One suspects that the Meccans might have attested the authenticity of the pedigrees that the Sudanese brought when they went on pilgrimages. From these manuscripts and others, and after further oral inquiries Aḥmad compiled his first draft in 1263/1847. For several years the author claims to have continued to check the accuracy of his compilation. By 1270/1854 the final recension was written and he called it *Khulāṣat al-iqtibās fi-ittiṣāl nasabinā bi-'l-Sayyid al-'Abbās*.[127] In its present form it was seen by MacMichael in 1907 in the possession of the author's sons. MacMichael also secured another manuscript in 1910. The Arabic manuscript consulted for this survey is dated 22 February 1913.[128]

Although the author rejected much of what he thought to be inaccurate, he added much that has nothing to do with the genealogy. The headings of his five chapters will demonstrate the point: (a) the honour of those who trace their descent to al-'Abbās; (b) the duty of studying useful parts of genealogical traditions; (c) the descendants of al-Fakī Bishāra al-Gharbāwī; (d) warning against overweening pride in one's forefathers; and (e) enumeration of the tribes of Ja'al.[129] A comparison of the BA and AB genealogies reveals that in many instances the latter followed the former word for word.

Genealogy ABC was composed for MacMichael by al-Ṣiddīq Ḥaḍra, a Maḥasī *faki*[130] from Khartoum North. In this manuscript al-Ṣiddīq summarized information from twenty-four genealogies which he had collected. Thus, his method was similar to that of Aḥmad Ismā'īl al-Azharī and, like him, he lacks critical approach. Most of his data seem to have been collected from one version or another of the BA and the *Ṭabaqāt*. However, there is some information which is not to be found in either and

this indicates that al-Ṣiddīq had access to records which have been lost. The main value of this genealogy lies in the type of information it contains and the relatively detailed data on the Maḥas.[131]

Genealogy A2 belongs to Is'ḥāq Muḥammad Aḥmad Shaddād, a Dahmashī of the Bidayriyya of Kordofan. This manuscript is alleged to have been transcribed from the original work of al-Samarqandī the elder by Shaykh 'Awūḍa b. 'Umar Shakkāl al-Qāriḥ, a *faki*[132] who lived in Dunqula and was alive in 1070/1660.[133] The present manuscript was certified by more than twenty dignitaries most of whom lived in Dunqula. This practice of certifying pedigrees is fairly frequent and is a method of attesting the validity of the genealogy.[134] The A2 does not add much to our previous knowledge but is of interest in two ways: firstly, it originated in Dunqula; secondly, it was allegedly copied from a larger work of al-Samarqandī, which will be considered next.

Genealogy A11 was copied on 16 January 1916 from a manuscript found with a member of the Baṭāḥīn Arabs living east of the Blue Nile.[135] The owner knew nothing of its history, but the occurrence of the name of al-Samarqandī twice in the text suggests that it was closely connected with the origin of A2.[136] The writer states that the science of genealogies was pursued by such reliable learned men as Shaykh Abū Sulaymān al-'Irāqī, Shaykh Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī, Shaykh 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd al-Samarqandī, and Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Baḥrānī. He adds that he will only discuss the genealogies of the Ja'aliyyīn, but those interested in the remaining Arab tribes ought to consult the books of the genealogies of al-Samarqandī the elder and Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Baḥrānī.[137] The reference to Makk Nimir, the Ja'alī chief, shows that this pedigree was probably written in its present form in the early decades of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

Genealogies C5 (a) and (b) are short pedigrees of the Shukriyya tribe and are said to have been transcribed from a manuscript of al-Samarqandī. The first was copied for MacMichael in 1912 from a manuscript of 'Alī walad[138] Ṭayy', and the second was dictated by an old man, apparently at the same time.[139] In both genealogies the Shukriyya claim a sharīfī ancestry which is also suggested in A2.[140] However, pending further discussion of this point,[141] it seems likely that the C5 (a) and (b) were connected with the A group of genealogies.

Genealogy C9 is a pedigree of Shaykh 'Abdallāh b. Dafa' Allāh al-'Aarakī, who was a student of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir,[142] and was written for MacMichael at the beginning of this century from an old manuscript of 'Umar 'Ajīb of the 'Abdallāb, who, like the 'Arakiyyīn, were a branch of the Rufā'a. This pedigree is interesting, for it demonstrates how 'Āmir, the traditional ancestor of the Rufā'a who, according to other genealogies descended from the Juhayna, is shown to be a sharīf.

Genealogy D1 was written at the beginning of this century from a manuscript belonging to the head of the Tijāniyya order, Shaykh al-Dardīrī Muḥammad Khalīfa of Khōrsī, who traces his descent from Ghulām Allāh b. 'Ā'id. He wrote his own copy in 1302/1885 from that of his father, dated 1252/1836, which was transcribed from an older manuscript dated 1151/1738.[143] The manuscript consists of three distinct chapters. The first is a summary of medieval Arabic historical works made by Ghulām Allāh b. 'Ā'id, and it is of no value for this study.[144]. The second chapter was composed by a descendant of Ghulām Allāh, namely Muhammad walad Dōlīb al-Kabīr, or the elder of al-Dabba,[145] who was alive in the reign of Sultan Unsa II (*c.* 1091–1103/1680–1692).[146] The first part of this chapter is a crude, and in many cases incorrect, abridgement of the history of the Arab tribes in Arabia. The author does not name his sources. In the second part,

which gives a brief account of some Arab tribes in the Sudan, the author seems to have been acquainted with Genealogy BA.[147] The fact that the author speaks of the Mirghaniyya family shows that the whole chapter was not written by the eleventh/seventeenth century. The third chapter, composed by Muḥammad Dōlīb al-Ṣaghīr, or the younger, a grandson of the former Dōlīb, deals with a variety of topics but mainly with the indigenous population of the Sudan. The dates of Dōlīb al-Ṣaghīr are not known, but he seems to have flourished about 1151/1738, the earliest date affixed to the whole work. The value of this work lies mainly in the data included in chapter ii.

Genealogy D2 was written in 1912 under the direction of Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Umar, one of the Funj of al-Kāmlīn. This manuscript seems to have been based partly on a document, and partly on oral tradition.[148] It is divided into three sections—the first and the second, three pages in all, which deal with the Umayyads in the Sudan, add little to what is known already.[149] The third section is not relevant for this study.

Ansāb al-'Arab al-mubw'ūn bi-arḍ al-Sūdān or genealogies of the Arab tribes who settled in the Sudan, Genealogy D6, was probably composed in 1277/1860 by Aḥmad b. al-Faqīh Ma'rūf. The manner by which the original "frayed and stained" manuscript reached the Department of Education in 1913 is not known. The author was probably one of the Fādniyya nomads who lived in the Buṭāna. This fact explains his main interest in the Arab nomads who lived in that region.[150] The opening paragraphs of this pedigree, which refer to Abū Sulaymān al-'Irāqī, Abū Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī, and Abū Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī, suggest that the author was acquainted with the genealogy now represented by A11. In the rest of his work, although he continues to rely on this (or perhaps an antecedent), Aḥmad b. al-Faqīh adds new data which is not to be found elsewhere.

The ultimate source of these genealogical traditions is difficult to decide for certain. Of the ten pedigrees discussed above, the origin of six may be traced to what may approximate to two schools of genealogies: the Rikābiyya and al-Samarqandī. The first names associated with genealogies BA and DI, that is, al-Sharīf al-Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh and Muḥammad walad Dōlīb al-Kabīr, and Muḥammad walad Dōlīb al-Ṣaghīr respectively were all Rikābiyya. They were all descended from Ghulām Allāh b. ʿĀʾid, who established a school of religious teaching which flourished in Dunqula and was maintained by generations of his descendants. This centre of learning had apparently attracted a number of students from all over the country who, after the completion of their studies, would disperse.[151] About the father of this school of genealogies, al-Sharīf al-Ṭāhir, nothing is known except that he had possibly lived at the turn of the ninth/fifteenth century and might have been a contemporary of that other shadowy figure, al-Samarqandī. Whether they met or exchanged information cannot be ascertained at the present state of our knowledge.

Al-Samarqandī is reputed to be the originator of many of these genealogical traditions. Indeed his name occurs in four: A2, A11, C5, and D6. A2 refers to him as al-Samarqandī al-Kabīr, while A11 speaks of two Samarqandīs, Shaykh Muḥammad and Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd. D6 calls the former Abū Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī and C5 does not add any adjectives or forenames to al-Samarqandī. According to the author of A2, Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī was one of two authors who wrote books of genealogies; the other was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Baḥrānī. However, the existence of these men has not been otherwise established. According to a tradition current towards the end of the last century, al-Samarqandī was one of the *ʿulamāʾ* at Sinnār, and compiled a book of genealogies of the Arabs in the Sudan for the Funj King. The latter dispatched the

book together with a letter to Sultan Salīm (thought to have been at Sawākin) as proof that his subjects were both Arabs and Muslims, and asked him to refrain from launching a war against them. Efforts to trace this book in Istanbul were fruitless.[152] If such a letter existed, it was probably sent by the ʿAbdallābī chief (whose sphere of influence bordered on that of the Ottomans at Sawākin) to the governor there in the early decades of the tenth/sixteenth century.

Al-Samarqandī, as his appellation suggests, was probably a foreigner who was attracted by the rise of an Islamized dynasty to utilize the generosity of its rulers. Having nothing to guide us except tradition, I would tentatively suggest that al-Samarqandī probably arrived in the tenth/sixteenth century at a time when the Arabs were still aware of their immediate history and the interrelation of the different tribes. In the light of his local inquiries into the history of the Sudanese Arabs, coupled with his previous knowledge of different Arabian tribes, al-Samarqandī wrote what came, perhaps, to be the most highly reputed book of genealogies in the country. So this book has come down to us in several versions or extracts which were continuously, one suspects, being affected by new additions to suit the changing tribal pattern.

In Genealogy A2, compiled by ʿAwūḍa b. ʿUmar Shakkāl al-Qāriḥ in Dunqula (*c.* 11th/17th century), the two schools of genealogies seem to join. ʿAwūḍa was a pupil of Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā Suwār al-Dhahab whose father, ʿĪsā, studied under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir al-Rikābī.[153] ʿAwūḍa was probably well acquainted with the Rikābiyya as well as the Samarqandī genealogical traditions, including the above-mentioned schools, while C9 and D2 were just extracts from one or the other with slight additions.

The Funj Chronicle. This is a collective name for a

group of manuscripts dealing with the Funj sultanate and Turco-Egyptian administration in the Sudan.[154] There are several versions of this Chronicle—in the Sudan,[155] in Cairo,[156] Vienna,[157] Paris,[158] and London.[159] Only the first pages are relevant to this study. The Chronicle was expanded by several authors but the nucleus was laid down, according to Makkī Shibayka, by Aḥmad Kātib al-Shūna, or the clerk of the government grain-store in Khartoum.[160] Aḥmad was born near al-Masallamiyya in 1199/1784–5 and joined the services of the Turco-Egyptian government in 1240/1824.[161] Of the relevant part of this Chronicle an important study was made by P. M. Holt in which he concluded that the Vienna manuscript probably represents the oldest recension of the Chronicle and contains fresh information on the origins of the Funj that was to be found nowhere else.[162]

Kitāb Ṭabaqāt wad Ḍayf Allāh fī awliyā' wa-ṣāliḥīn wa-'ulamā' wa-shu'arā'. Usually called *Ṭabaqāt wad Ḍayf Allāh*, this is a biographical dictionary of saints, learned men, and poets, written about 1219/1804–5.[163] The writer, Muḥammad wad Ḍayf Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ja'alī from Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk north of Khartoum, was born *c.* 1139/1728 and died in 1224/1809.[164] The dictionary, as its title shows, is a mine of information on social, cultural, and religious matters in the Funj Kingdom. The first pages of this book form the only source for the cultural and religious life in the early tenth/sixteenth century. The *Ṭabaqāt* was described with an abridged English translation and explanatory notes by MacMichael.[165] However, the most important analysis and evaluation was made by Hillelson.[166] From the preliminary comparison I made between the available manuscripts and the two uncritical texts published in 1930 by Sulaymān Dāwūd Mandīl and Ibrāhīm Ṣidayq, the last two seem to form the whole work.[167]

NOTES

(I)

EXTERNAL CONTACTS BEFORE THE ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT

1. Buja in medieval Arabic writings.
2. The word Sudanese refers to the inhabitants of the Republic of the Sudan.
3. Barbour, 64-74.
4. Although this is correct as a general remark one suspects that the country north of the junction of the Blue and White Niles was richer in flora and fauna than today.
5. J. Vercoutter, "Ancient Egyptian influence in the Sudan", *SNR*, XL (1959), 8.
6. Trimingham, *Sudan*, 2.
7. Ibn Sulaym as quoted by Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III 264.
8. These regions mark the limit of Arab penetration until recently.
9. For the historical background I have mainly followed Arkell, 22-185, except where it is otherwise stated.
10. See C. G. Seligman, "Some Aspects of the Hamitic problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan", *JRAI*, XLIII (1913), 595-610; A. M. Batrawi, "The racial history of Egypt and Nubia", *JRAI*, LXXVI (1946), 155.
11. Arkell, 110-73.
12. L. P. Kirwan, "The international position of the Sudan in Roman and medieval times", *SNR*, XL (1959), 23-8.
13. "Ethiopos" in Greek means literally "burnt-face". It was used to describe several dark-skinned peoples including some Indians, but more particularly for the Meroites and other peoples of the Nile Valley.
14. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 258.
15. Ibid., III, 253, 258.
16. So vocalized by Ya'qūbī (*Buldān*, 336) and Yāqūt (IV, 605).

It should, however, be noted that it is not vocalized in other sources which may account for different pronunciations.

17. L. P. Kirwan, "Notes on the topography of the Christian Nubian Kingdoms", *JEA*, XXI (1935), 60-1.
18. Ghirshman, 306.
19. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 258; describing the inhabitants of al-Muqurra, Idrīsī writes (*Ṣifat*, 19): "of the blacks they are the most handsome and good looking".
20. Kirwan, op. cit., *SNR*, XL, 31.
21. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 263.
22. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 32.
23. Ibn Ḥawqal, 58; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 258.
24. Ibid., III, 264.
25. Ibid., III, 258-9.
26. Sometimes rendered al-Raḥrāḥ, cf. *Khiṭaṭ* (Cairo), I, 192.
27. H. C. Jackson, "A trek in Abu Ḥamad District", *SNR*, IX (1926), 26, quoting Addison the Conservator of Antiquities.
28. Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 153.
29. J. W. Crowfoot, "The island of Meroe", *ASE*, XIX (1911), 6-7.
30. Nūwayrī, MSS, *Nihāyat*, XXX, f. 98.
31. Ibn Ḥawqal, 57-8.
32. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 264.
33. Ibn Ḥawqal, 57-8.
34. Ibn al-Faqīh, 78; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 383.
35. Dimashqī, 268.
36. E.g. S. Hilleson, "Nubian origins", *SNR*, XIII (1930), 137-48; L. P. Kirwan, "A survey of Nubian origins", *SNR*, XX (1937), 47-63. After sending this book to the Press my attention was kindly drawn by my colleagues Dr P. E. H. Hair and Dr B. G. Haycock of the History Department, University of Khartoum, to the most recent contribution to this subject: Wyatt MacGaffey, "The history of negro migrations in the Northern Sudan", *SJA*, XVII (1961), 178-97.
37. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 217.
38. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 31.
39. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 258.
40. Ibid., III, 258.

41. Ibn Buṭlān, 376; this is the general impression conveyed in the Arabic sources.
42. For the spread of the Christian faith in the Sudan, see Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 53-70; F. F. Gadallah, "Egyptian Contribution to Nubian Christianity", *SNR*, XL (1959), 38-42.
43. J. W. Crowfoot, "Christian Nubia". *JEA*, XIII (1927), 142; A. J. Arkell, "Medieval history of Darfur and Nilotic Sudan", *SNR*, XL (1959), 45.
44. Abū Ṣāliḥ, 120-1.
45. Severus, I, pt ii, 186; Crowfoot, op. cit., *JEA*, XIII, 147.
46. E.g. Ibn al-Faqīh, 77.
47. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 394.
48. *Ibid.*, III, 271.
49. The identification of Blemmyes with the Beja or a group of them, though rejected by some scholars, is securely established, see: Paul, 54-5, Trimingham, *Ethiopia*, f.n. 2, 47, for further literature.
50. Ibn al-Faqīh, 71; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 336.
51. The manner in which Christianity was adopted by the Beja is not known. In the fifth century A.D. the Coptic monk Shenoute tried to convert some of them, cf. Gadallah, op. cit., *SNR*, XL, 38. In A.D. 530 the Blemmyes temple of Isis at Philae was closed and dedicated to Christian worship, see Trimingham, *Sudan*, 46-7.
52. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 217-18. It is very difficult to locate these *dārs* on a map.
53. This place has not been identified positively, for a short survey of different locations, see Crawford, *Funj*, 104-5.
54. This tribe may possibly be identified with the present Amar'ar who live in the neighbourhood of Port Sudan.
55. Ibn Ḥawqal, 56-8.
56. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, 41.
57. Ibn Ḥawqal says (p. 55) that the Raqābāt and the Handība were clans working for the Ḥadāriba as guards.
58. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 272-3.
69. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 218.
60. Trimingham, *Ethiopia*, 47.

61. Ullendorff, 5.
62. W. Caskel, "al-'Arab", *EI*, 2, 1, 527.
63. Lewis, *Arabs*, 23-4, 28.
64. 'Abbās 'Ammār, *Sharqīya*, 1, 21-2.
65. Huzayyin, 30-1, 37-8.
66. 'Abbās 'Ammār, *Sharqīya*, 1, 18, 24.
67. Murray, 21.
68. Strabo, VIII, 71, 85, 135.
69. The Nabataeans are Arabs who used an Aramaic dialect as an official language; see E. Littmann, "Nabataean inscriptions from Egypt", *BSOAS*, XV (1953), 3.
70. E. Littmann, op. cit., *BSOAS*, XV and XVI (1954), pp. 3-18 and 215-32 respectively; see also F. Green, "Notes on some inscriptions on the Etbaï District of the Red Sea", *PSBA* (1909), 319-23.
71. Ibn Khaldūn, 1, 94-5.
72. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 258.
73. D. A. Cameron, "On the tribes of the Eastern Sudan", *JRAI*, XVI (1887), 287-8.
74. Paul, 64.
75. Ibn Ḥawqal, 57; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 267.
76. See p. 11.
77. Ḥamdānī, *Ṣifat*, 130.
78. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 89.
79. *Ibid.*, 29-30.
80. Meaning, probably, Orthodox Christian.
81. Idrīsī, *Ṣifat*, 21-2.
82. Ibid., 27.
83. L. P. Kirwan, "Studies in Later history of Nubia", *AAA*, XXIV (1937), 74-5.
84. Paul, 67.
85. This name is written in different forms such as Balow, Balu Belou, Bellow, Belu, etc.
86. This tradition was related to me by some Bejāwī elders and also appears in Shaykh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Ta'rīkh al-Beja*, written for D. Newbold in *c.* 1930. The only extant version of this account is an English translation in *Newbold's File* II, 330.

(2)

RELATIONS WITH THE MUSLIM ARABS

1. Ibn Jubayr, 69-70; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, 109-11, 251-3.
2. I was told by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Dirār, on the authority of some Rashāyda elders, that when they migrated from Arabia in the nineteenth century they came upon ships each carrying about 30 camels or 100 sheep; see also MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 345.
3. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 173.
4. This is, of course, contrary to the pronouncement of some modern writers who suggest that the attacks against Nubia were the result of a deliberate policy, cf. 'Abbās 'Ammār, *Nile Valley*, 58, Mus'ad, 111. Al-Mas'ūdī, (*Murūj*, III, 38-9) says that 'Umar I wrote to 'Amr ordering him to fight the Nubians, but this does not mean more than putting an end to Nubian attacks and defending the southern frontiers. However, for a general account on the causes of Arab conquests see G. H. Bousquet, "Observations sur la nature et les causes de la conquête Arabe", *SI*, VI (1956), 37-52.
5. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, f. 227.
6. Caetani (IV/217) states that in the brief governorship of 'Amr the Muslims did not pay much attention to conquering Nubia, they considered it a country of raids for booty. It seems to me that their aim was not booty, but defence.
7. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 169-70, 174.
8. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 238-9.
9. Ṭabarī, I, 2594.
10. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 290.
11. This figure is given by Ibn al-Furāt (VII, 45) who does not name his source, but the same tradition is related by al-Kindī (p. 12) on the authority of Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb although without mentioning any figure.
12. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 188; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 290.
13. For a critical survey of these sources see the Appendix.
14. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 188.

15. Ṭabarī, I, 2594. It might be of interest to note that al-Ṭabarī states (I, 2587-8) that in the peace treaty which 'Amr granted to the Egyptians, he promised not to allow Nubians to live among them, while the end of the same text runs as follows: "Nubians who have accepted (this pact) are to supply so many slaves and so many horses and in return the Nubians will not be attacked nor will their ingoing or outcoming trade be prevented". In the first clause Nubians were to be stopped from settling in Egypt while in the last clause they were treated more favourably. I am inclined to think that the last clause did not belong to the original text of the treaty but refers to a separate treaty, perhaps the one that 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd concluded with the *Nūba* and which was embodied here almost as an appendix. For further discussion of this point see Butler, *Arab conquest*, 324, 338, 432 and *Treaty*, 43-4.
16. Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ*, 238.
17. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 293-4.
18. Until then most of these traditions were not yet committed to writing.
19. Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, III, 292-3); for the translation of the text see, Kindī, introduction, 26-7.
20. Approximately 200 Egyptian *raṭuls* or pounds.
21. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 293.
22. Ibid., III, 292; the author calls him Samqūs.
23. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 189.
24. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 292.
25. People of recognized religions, e.g. Jews and Christians.
26. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 189.
27. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 290-2.
28. Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, III, 39) states that the slaves were the Nubians' own prisoners of war, probably captured further south or south-west.
29. The delivery was normally made at al-Qaṣr, five miles south of Aswān (Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 289).
30. The numerical divisions are not to be found in the text.
31. Latin pactum, Greek πακτου, Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ* III, 289) is probably wrong in his attempt to give an Arabic origin. For a suggested Egyptian meaning see Caetanī, IV, 521.

32. F. Løkkegaard, "Bakṭ", *EI*, 2, 966.
33. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, f. 227-8.
34. See p. 125.
35. Arnold, *Preaching*, III.
36. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 239.
37. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 39.
38. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 239.
39. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 294-5.
40. Severus, I, pt. ii, 282.
41. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 295.
42. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 238.
43. Muḥammad Abū Zahra, "Naẓarīyat al-ḥarb fī'l-Islām", *REDI*, XIV (1958), 15-16.
44. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 293-4.
45. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 189.
46. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 239.
47. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 295.
48. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 189.
49. Kindī, 71-2.
50. According to Kindī (p. 93) 'Abd al-Malik became governor in Jumādā II, 132/February 750, i.e. just before the fall of the Umayyad caliphate.
51. Severus, I, pt. ii, 185.
52. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 45.
53. This incident is amply described in the sources, but with slight variations mainly in Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 415-16), Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, VIII, f. 500-3), Ṭabarī (III, 46), Mas'ūdī (*Tanbīh*, 329), Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (*'Iqd*, IV, 470-4), Severus, I, pt. ii, 200-201.
54. Ya'qūbī puts the number as 4,000 while Ibn 'Abd Rabbih puts it as 2,000 or 4,000.
55. He told them that if God's anger was brought upon them while they were still in his country, his kingdom would suffer from their sins. So he asked them to leave after three days.
56. It has been suggested by some historians that they crossed through the straits of Bāb al-Mandab; but to cross from there would mean a longer and difficult journey through the Abyssinian highlands.

57. Ibrāhīm Tarkhān, "Al-Islām wa'l-Mamālik al-Islamīyya bi'l-Ḥabasha", *MJMDT*, VIII (1959), 27-8.
58. Ibn Ḥawqal, 36.
59. Kammerer, I, pt. iii, 322.
60. Ṭabarī, I, 2595.
61. al-Fākihī, II, 44; Qinā'ī, 15.
62. Ṭabarī, III, 359, 370; Qinā'ī (p. 15) says it was attacked by Abyssinians.
63. *Ibid.*, I, 2379-2480.
64. Bakrī, f. 10B.
65. Ṭabarī, III, 135, II, 1777; Abū 'l Faraj, IV, 45, 239, VIII, 56.
66. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 189.
67. Ibn Ḥawqal, 50-1.
68. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 189.
69. Ibn Ḥawqal, 51-2.
70. Ibid., 51-2.
71. It is difficult to give an exact date, but it is probable that this was achieved by the end of the fourth/tenth century.
72. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 161, 290; *Bayān*, 95.
73. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 116.
74. Lane-Poole, 29.
75. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 98-9.
76. The word used in the source is *ahl bayt*.
77. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 66-8.
78. Lewis, *Arabs*, 80, 84, 92-3, and "'Abbasids", *EI*, 2, I, 19-20.
79. Broadly speaking the *Mawālī* (singular *Mawlā*) are the non-Arab Muslims; for a detailed definition see Lewis, *Arabs*, 70.
80. Ibid., 93.
81. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, II, 49, 55, 60-1; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Cairo) I, 307-8.
82. Kindī, 43; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 336, 337, 338.
83. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 339.
84. Ibid., I, 339-40.
85. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, II, 223.
86. Lewis, *Arabs*, 146.
87. For further discussion on the Nubian soldiers, see pp. 44, 47-48.

88. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 44.
89. Severus, I, pt. ii, 248, calls him ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.
90. This is an approximate translation of *aʿlanū al-ʿiṣyān*, literarily declared disobedience.
91. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 44; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, II, 223.
92. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 104-5.
93. Particularly during the Tulunid period, see Balawī, 63, 67, 68. In 236 A.H. the caliph al-Mutawakkil ordered the removal of the ʿAlids from al-Fusṭāt to Baghdad.
94. Ḥasan Aḥmad Maḥmūd, I, 101.
95. Abū Ṣāliḥ, 120; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 253.
96. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, III, 42-3.
97. Ibn Sulaym says (*Khiṭaṭ*, III, 295-6) that it was al-Muʿtaṣim who was asked in A.H. 218. Although there is no difference in the settlement reached, al-Masʿūdī's account is fuller.
98. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 252-3.
99. Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 118; there is, however, no reference to this inscription in Combe's work.
100. Combe, III, 183.
101. Ibn Ḥawqal (p. 53) calls him ʿUbayd and relates that his attack on the Beja land took place in 332 A.H., in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, which is probably wrong. Furthermore, his account is rather confused.
102. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 273-5. The following numerical divisions are not found in the original text.
103. Meaning Maṣawwaʿ; which lies opposite the archipelago of Dahlak.
104. *Kharāj* here does not mean the technical term, land-tax, but a general meaning for a collective tax which is levied from a province or a region.
105. Identified with modern Sinkāt, Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 102.
106. It is suggested by Ḥasan A. Maḥmūd (I, 385) that a Muslim principality may have already been established in this region and that is why Kannūn agreed to give the caliph such wide influence. This seems doubtful, as hinted above: the earliest established Muslim principalities came into being after the gold mines were opened and exploited on a large scale.

(3)

ARAB ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN MEDIEVAL SUDAN

1. There is no explicit mention of grain in the sources but this can be deduced from the exchange of provisions for slaves in the *Baqṭ* treaty.
2. Nāṣir-ī Khusraw, 41; Ibn al-Faqih, 76.
3. R. Brunschvig, "'Abd", *EI*, 2, 1, 26.
4. Ibid., *EI*, 2, 1, 32.
5. Ibn Buṭlān, 371-8.
6. Ibn al Faqih, 76.
7. Ibn Buṭlān, 376, 387.
8. S. D. Goitein, "Slaves and slave girls in Cairo Geniza", *Arabica*, IX (1962), 8.
9. Ibn Buṭlān, 375-6.
10. Ibid., 353.
11. Brunschvig, op. cit., *EI*, 2, 1, 26.
12. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 334.
13. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, f. 165A.
14. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 44.
15. Ibid., I, 315 (Cairo ed.).
16. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 293-4.
17. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 43.
18. Severus, I, pt. ii, 185.
19. Nāṣir-ī Khusraw, 73.
20. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 283.
21. See above p. 8.
22. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 39.
23. I.e. the inhabitants of East Africa.
24. Iṣṭakhrī, 41-2; Muqaddasī (242) adds that the black slaves sold in Egypt are the best African slaves.

25. Nāṣir-ī Khusraw, 46. He calls them, probably wrongly, the Maṣāmida which is the name of a Berber tribe.
26. Yāqūt, IV, 820; the text reads *Bilād al-Sūdān* which is probably a copyist's error for *Bilād al-Islām*.
27. Abū Ṣāliḥ, 120; Ibn Sulaym speaks of the same process of barter (*Khiṭaṭ*, III, 254) but without specifying what the Muslim exchanged for slaves, cattle, etc. Upper Maqs was one of the two residences of the Lord of the Mountain, the other was Bajrāsh.
28. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 335-6.
29. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 263-4.
30. Dimishqī, 268.
31. Hasan A. Maḥmūd, I, 286.
32. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 263.
33. Yāqūt, IV, 820.
34. Idrīsī, *Ṣifat*, 26.
35. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 44; the same source estimates the number of his troops in Egypt and Syria as 400,000, which is very large indeed.
36. A *Sūdānī*, Nubian and Abyssinian origin were all mentioned for Kāfūr, but it is more probable that he was a Nubian-*Sūdānī* slave rather than Abyssinian; see Severus, II, pt. ii, 86-7.
37. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 44.
38. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 46.
39. Lane-Poole, 133.
40. She was a *jāriya sawdā'*, or a black slave bought by Abū Sa'īd of Tustar; cf. Ibn Muyassar 14.
41. Ibid., 14.
42. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, X. 54-6.
43. Ibn Muyassar, 24-5.
44. Abū Shāma I, 178.
45. Ibid., I, 208-9.
46. 'Umāra al-Yamanī, 40.
47. E.g. see Ibn Ḥajar, *Ḍaw*, III, 231.
48. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, 394.
49. Sakhāwī, *Dhayl*, I (events of the year A.H. 752 unnumbered MSS.)
50. 'Arab Faqīh, 153, 323.

51. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 270.
52. Ṭabarī, III, 1429; Ibn Ḥawqal (p. 53) states that the cause of this trouble was a quarrel between a Muslim and a Bejāwī who spoke disrespectfully of the Prophet.
53. Ṭabarī, III, 1431.
54. Ibn Ḥawqal, 53. This spelling—Yaman—refers to the name of a particular tribe that lived in the Yemen.
55. Ṭabarī (III, 1432) says Ṣinja or Sinkāt which is well inland. However it seems that 'Aydhāb is more suitable as al-Balādhurī says, *Futūḥ*, 239
56. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 234. Ibn Ḥawqal (p. 53) adds that the Arabs displayed a long letter with golden script wrapped in cloth and claimed to have been sent by the caliph. This curious letter fascinated the Beja, who, while gazing, were no longer in a state of readiness to fight and at this juncture the Arabs charged with full force.
57. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 240.
58. Ṭabarī, III, 1433.
59. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 277.
60. Ibn Ḥawqal, 53.
61. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 334.
62. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, f. 164B-167B; Balawī, 64-7; Kindī, 214.
63. Identified by Monneret de Villard (*Storia*, III) with Um Nabārdī (near No. 6 Station), or Wādī Hadeglib.
64. This is the region between Abū Ḥamad and Barbar where the name is still preserved. Maqrīzī (*Muqaffā*, IV, 165A) puts it wrongly at two months distant from Dunqula.
65. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, f. 164B-165B.
66. *Ibid.*, IV, 165A.
67. *Ibid.*, IV, f. 166B.
68. Monneret de Villard identifies it with Um Garayāt, *Storia*, 113.
69. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, f. 166B.
70. Ibn al-Dāya, 27.
71. Balawī, 66.
72. Ibid., 66-7.
73. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, f. 166B.
74. Ibid., IV, 167A-B.
75. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, 167B.

76. Balawī, 67.
77. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, 167B.
78. According to this source (*Khiṭaṭ*, II, 455, Cairo ed.) the Beja depredations reached Jabal al-Muqaṭam near al-Fusṭāṭ which seems, owing to its remoteness from the Beja country, most unlikely and it would therefore be reasonable to suggest a place in Upper Egypt.
79. Balawī, 64-5.
80. Maqrīzī, *Muquffā*, IV, 167B.
81. Balawī, 67.
82. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 333-5. It should be noted that gold was obtained in the nineteenth century from the regions of Fāzūghlī and Jabal Shaybūn further to the south.
83. For a detailed description of the different precious stones see Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 44-6.
84. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 333.
85. Ibid., 334.
86. Iṣṭakharī, 54.
87. It lies sixty miles south-east of Aswān.
88. The name is not clear in the text, it has neither points nor diacritical marks.
89. Text is obscure.
90. Text is obscure.
91. Possibly the mine of al-Shanka worked by al 'Umarī.
92. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 335.
93. Hamdānī, *Jawharatayn*, f. 24B.
94. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 334.
95. At the top of Wādī al-'Allāqī there is an old gold site named Deraheib (Lat. 21° 57′ Long. 35° 8′) which means in Tu-Bedawie, building. Monneret de Villard (*Nubia*, I, 276) discovered two Arab castles at the same place and a Kufic inscription dated 372/982–3.
96. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 334-5.
97. It is not part of this study to show the impact of this gold on the Muslim world. It suffices to say that according to Maurice Lombard ("L'Or musulman du VIIe au XIe siècle", *AESC*, t. II (1947), 143-60) it led to the continuation of the new financial and commercial system that resulted from the Arab conquests

and which embraced the Near East and Mediterranean worlds. See also, D. M. Dunlop, "Sources of Gold and silver in Islam according to al-Hamdānī", *SI*, VIII, 1957, 29-49.

98. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 334.
99. Margoliouth, 35-6.
100. Rainer, No. 770 (Ar. Pap. No. 319), p. 204.
101. Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 109.
102. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, IV, 110-11.
103. Bakrī, f. 10A.
104. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, IV, 111.
105. *Ibid.*, 111, 278, fn. no. 2, a quotation from al-Muqarrī *Nathr-al-Jumān*. Moreover, this decline is to be expected because in most cases the water ran short, and the mines themselves had already been worked by the Pharaohs and the Romans.
106. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 33; the author uses the term Qaḥṭān, the traditional ancestor of the south Arabians, possibly to denote the immigrants from that region.
107. *Ibid.*, III, 33-4.
108. P. M. Holt, "Bedja", *EI*, 2, I, 1157.
109. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 34.
110. Ibn Ḥawqal, 56.
111. There is a slight difference in the sequence of names between Ibn Ḥawqal, 54, and Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 44-5.
112. Ibn Ḥawqal, 54.
113. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IX, 139-43.
114. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 46.
115. G. E. R. Sanders, and T. R. H. Owen, "Notes on ancient villages in Khor Nubt and Khor Omek", *SNR*, XXXII (1951), 326-31.
116. Haiyā is a junction station on the line between Atbara, Kasala, and Port Sudan.
117. Not far from Khōr Nubt, two Greek inscriptions were found on a rock, one of which reads Joseph, cf. Sanders and Owen, op. cit. *SNR*, XXXII, 326.
118. Ibid., 329.
119. Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Note sulle influenze asiatiche nell' Africa Orientale", *RSO*, XVII (1938), 303-49, esp. 323-324.

120. G. Wiet, "Stèles Coufiques d'Egypte et du Soudan", *JA*, CCXL (1952), 292-7.
121. H. Glidden, "Khor Nubt tombstones", *Kush*, II (1954) 63-5.
122. This reading is suggested by Wiet only; see Wiet, op. cit., *JA*, CCXL, 292-3.
123. سع and نسع This is due to the absence of dots.
124. Monneret de Villard, op. cit., *RSO*, XVII, 323-4.
125. Another inscription of a man who died in 253/866 is published by Wiet, op. cit., *JA*, CCXL, 264. This inscription perhaps refers to No. 2772.
126. Glidden, op. cit., *Kush*, II, 65.
127. It is strange to suggest that these graves belong to the Arabs who came to fight 'Alī Bābā in 240/854 and remained to keep guard (J. E. E. Bloss, "The story of Suakin", *SNR*, XIX (1936), 279). There is no evidence to prove this suggestion as al-Qummī went back with his army.
128. Sanders and Owen, op. cit., *SNR*, XXXII, 331.
129. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 257.
130. Paul, 147-8.
131. Nāṣir-ī Khusraw, 73.
132. Idrīsī, *Ṣifat*, 27.
133. Ibn Sa'id (p.31) locates this village at Long. 65° and Lat 12°. However, bearing in mind that these medieval meridians do not correspond to the present ones and that Ibn Sa'īd's knowledge of the Beja country was probably based on hearsay, it would be difficult to locate it positively.
134. I.e. ports on the western coast of the Red Sea and in the Sudan.
135. J. W. Crowfoot, "Some Red Sea ports in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan", *GJ*, XXXVIII (May 1911), 528-9.
136. See above p. 30.
137. Ṭabarī, I, 2379-2480.
138. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 189.
139. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 329-30.
140. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 319.
141. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 41, 133.
142. Yāqūt, I, 471.
143. Crowfoot, op. cit., *GJ*, XXXVII, 529-33

144. E. T. Combe, "Four Arabic inscriptions from the Red Sea". *SNR*, XIII (1930), 228.
145. H. E. Hebbert, "El-Rih, a Red Sea island", *SNR*, XVIII (1935), 310 mentions an undated inscription of Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb.
146. Yāqūt, I, 417.
147. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 336-7.
148. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 257.
149. Hamdānī, *Jawharatayn*, 24B.
150. Hebbert, op. cit., *SNR*, XVIII, 313.
151. 'Umāra al-Yamanī, 286-7.
152. Yāqūt, I, 417.
153. G. W. Murray, "Aidhab", *GJ*, LXVIII (1926), 237-9.
154. Idrīsī (*Nuzhat*, f. 112) says that the adjoining desert was called after 'Aydhāb: *Ṣaḥrā* 'Aydhāb. According to M. J. Couyatt ("Les Routes d'Aidhab", *BIFAO*, VIII, 1911, p. 138) the name 'Aydhāb is still preserved by the adjoining desert in the corrupted form of Edbāy or 'Etbāy.
155. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 44.
156. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, f. 167A.
157. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 335.
158. *Ibid.*, 335.
159. B. Lewis, "The Fatimids and the route to India", *RFSEUI*, XI (1949–50), 50.
160. Goitein, 116.
161. Lewis, op. cit., *RFSEUI*, XI, 51-3.
162. Hourani, 82.
163. Iṣṭakhrī, 30.
164. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, 468.
165. Ibn Jubayr, 61-7.
166. Nāṣir-ī Khusraw, 70-1.
167. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 299-300.
168. Nāṣir-ī Khusraw, 71-3.
169. Ibn Jubayr, 65-73.
170. *Ibid.*, 67-8.
171. Ibid., 65-6; when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (I, 109) started his journey from Idfū in 726/1326 the camelmen were no longer from the Baliyy but from the Dughaym.
172. *Ibid.*, 70; according to this traveller the pilgrims suffered

many difficulties at the hands of the Beja who were liable to lead them in the wrong direction in order to fleece them.

173. Ibid., 69.

174. This may include part of the ruins that Murray, op. cit., *GJ*, LXVIII, 239, discovered at the site of 'Aydhāb in 1926.

175. Ibn Jubayr, 71, also 70. Although this complaint contradicts Ibn Jubayr's earliest remarks (p. 70) it is happily confirmed by Professor S. D. Goitein who based his conclusion on the Geniza literature. He wrote in a private letter to me dated 11.7.63 the following remarks: "I would like to mention only two things: despite this frequent use, the route was very dangerous, especially in the later years of Fatimid rule. The Beja guides often misled the caravans in order to rob them out and to let the merchants die of thirst. On the other hand, 'Aydhāb was not only a great port, but, despite its murderous climate merchants coming from all over the Mediterranean area tried to do as much business as possible in 'Aydhāb in order to save the time and the money to travel to Yemen or India or farther afield. . . ." On the other hand Ibn Jubayr might have been referring to two distinct situations: the first refers to the caravan route leading to 'Aydhāb and the second to Aydhāb itself.

176. Ocean-going ships were apparently not suitable for the Red Sea waters.

177. S. D. Goitein, "From the Mediterranean to India: documents on trade to India, south Arabia from the eleventh and the twelfth centuries", *Speculum*, XXXIX, pt. ii (1954), 187.

178. The origin of the Kārimī merchants who worked in close association with one another is obscure. It has been suggested that the majority of the Kārimīs came originally from Kānim (Lake Chad region) to which spice traders were attributed (see Maqrizī, *Sulūk* (ed. M. M. Ziyāda), I, 899, note 2, and works quoted there) and were thus styled Kānimī which was altered to Kārimī. Owing to the absence of any other evidence, the similarity of letters between Kārimī and Kānimī is not sufficient: quite a number of them were Muslims who endowed religious institutions with part of their wealth (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, II, No. 2450, IV, Nos. 1879 and 1159); some of these

were probably renegades (Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'* (ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī), note on p. 160). However, F. Ashtor ("The Karimi merchants", *JRAS*, 1956, pp. 55-6) was able to show in the light of Geniza documents that Jews and Christians were among them.

179. Goitein, op. cit., *Arabica*, IX, 4-5.
180. Lewis, op. cit., *RFSEUI*, XI, 54.
181. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, 468-9.
182. Ibid., III, 524.
183. 'Aynī, *'Iqd*, XVIII, f. 710. A decade or two later (1130–40) the governor of Dahlak was referred to in a Judaeo-Arabic document as being a dangerous pirate; see S. D. Goitein, "New light on the beginnings of the Kārimī merchants", *JESHO*, I, pt. ii (1958), 184.
184. Abū Shāmā, II, 35-6.
185. Ibid., II, 35-6, and Ibn Jubayr, 59.
186. It is probable that Abū Shāma (I, 305) was referring to one of these chiefs when he spoke of the death of the King of the Beja, al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāfī in 568/1172–3.
187. Idrīsī, *Nuẓhat*, f. 113.
188. Meaning a Turkish Mamluk.
189. Ibn Jubayr, 72.
190. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, 110.
191. Ibn Jubayr, 55-6.
192. Abū Shāma, I, 174.
193. Idrīsī, *Nuẓhat*, f. 133, the text reads Abyssinian tribes, but it is more likely to be the Beja tribes.
194. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 272. The same source (f. 113) states that the inhabitants of the port travelled in the Beja country, buying and selling, and returned with milk, clarified butter, and honey.
195. Ibn Jubayr, 72.
196. al-Muqarrī, *Nathr al-Jumān*, quoted in Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, f.n. 2.
197. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, 110.
198. See above p. 59.
199. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Muṣṭalaḥ*, 173-4.
200. H. A. R. Gibb, "'Aydhāb", *EI*, 2, I, 782.
201. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Rawḍ*, I, 284; III, 956-7, 885-6.

202. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, III, 1011.
203. Ibid., III, 1070.
204. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Muṣṭalaḥ*, 188-9.
205. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 300.
206. Idfuwī (d. *c.* 748/1347) states on p. 44 that a certain Maghrabī, i.e. an inhabitant of north-west Africa, died on this route in A.H. 686.
207. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I/110-1, 158-61, 251-3.
208. Mufaḍḍal, II, 221 (or 375).
209. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Shāmī, 126.
210. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 45.
211. Ibid., VII, 226.
212. Though the chronicles speak of *'Arab* and *'Urbān* both terms might have included Arabized Beja who shared with them the same desert.
213. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MS, XXX, f. 97.
214. Ibid., XXX, f. 97.
215. This sultan had been twice in office for short periods in A.H. 696 and A.H. 708.
216. For details of this campaign see Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MS, XXX, f. 97-8.
217. Nuwayrī. *Nihāyat*, MS, XXX, f. 98 calls them Halanka; 'Aynī (*'Iqd*, XXXXI or XXII, both figures are given, f. 68) calls them Ḥalanka which is near to the modern pronunciation of the name of the same people Ḥalanqa. See also p. 141.
218. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MS, XXX, f. 98.
219. 'Aynī, *'Iqd*, XXXI (or XXII, both numbers are given), f. 169.
220. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, 110-11.
221. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 301.
222. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, 469
223. Murray, op. cit., *GJ*, LXVII, 337.
224. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 251.
225. See above p. 72.
226. Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw*, III, 103-5, no. 417.
227. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, II, 222. He relates this incident in A.H. 784.
228. Darrag, 202-3.
229. Lane-Poole, 339.
230. Ibid., 339.

231. Darrag, 203.
232. However, Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 301, writes that when Eastern ships ceased to call at 'Aydhāb, Aden became an important port and remained so until *c.* 820, when Jedda assumed its position as the greatest port in the "world". It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that 'Aydhāb came to an end about the same time that Leo suggested.
233. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān al Fāsī, better known as Leo Africanus, was born at Granada in 870/1465. He appears to have travelled widely and his *History and description of Africa* contains a record of that journey. His scanty and imperfect knowledge of Nubia suggests that he had never seen that country and that he collected his information by hearsay; see Leo Africanus, I, xli, xliii, xxxvi-xxxvii.
234. Leo Africanus, III, 837.
235. This passage occurs in a section describing Nubia and refers to a port on the western coast of the Red Sea which the editor has identified with 'Aydhāb and not Zabīd, the Yemenite port. Leo Africanus is definitely mistaken in giving the name Zibid to 'Aydhāb.
236. Leo Africanus, III, 837.
237. Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw*, III, 230.
238. Ibn al-Jay'ān, 196.
239. Crowfoot (op. cit., *GJ*, XXXVII, 530) has identified it with Limen Evangelais or the port of good hope mentioned by Ptolemy. The town stood partly on a circular island about one mile in circumference on a deep inlet. Relating what he heard from travellers Abū'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), 370-1 describes Sawākin as a small village on a small island very near the shore and from which people could wade. Sawākin and all around it he relates belongs to the Beja. For a general account on Sawākin to the present day, see J. F. E. Bloss, "The Story of Suakin", *SNR*, XIX (1936), pp. 271-300 and XX (1937), pp. 247-80.
240. Hamdānī, *Sifat*, I, 40, 133, and *Jawharatayn*, f. 24.
241. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 257.
242. For other suggestions see Bloss, op. cit., *SNR*, XIX, 272-3; and H. R. Hulbert a letter in *SNR*, XXI (1938), 434.

243. Ibn Jubayr, 72.
244. E. M. Popper, a letter in *SNR*, XXII (1939), 293-4.
245. 'Umāra al-Yamanī, 80.
246. Ibn Sa'īd, 51.
247. Ibid., 51.
248. Only Ibn al-Furāt (VII, 226) calls him al-Sharīf.
249. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, III, 1011.
250. See above pp. 74-5.
251. Cf. Shāfi' b. 'Alī, f. 83A-83B, and Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ* (introduction by Khowayter) I, 285-6. *Shāfi'* adds that the Mamluk nominee was a certain Fakhr al-Dīn of the Banū 'l-Kanz. However, because of a request from al-Hadrabī probably the local ruler of 'Aydhāb with whom Asba 'ānī took refuge, Baybars installed Asba'ānī back in his office. Shāfi' b. 'Alī's (d. 730/1330) work is an abridgement of Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir's biography of Baybars, part of which is lost.
252. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 226.
253. A *qinṭār* is a standard weight of 100 *raṭul* or pound.
254. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MS, XXX, f. 97B.
255. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, 162.
256. Ibid., II, 158, 160-3.
257. Ibid., II, 161; it is interesting to note that Ibn Battūṭa says that the Beja wore yellow turbans—a colour still favoured by Bejāwī women.
258. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, I, 244.
259. Nearly more than fifty years before, Ibn Sa'īd (p. 50) described the Beja as Muslims, Christians, and worshippers of idols.
260. For further discussion of this archaeological question see Crowfoot, op. cit., *GJ*, XXXVII, 549-50. G. T. Madigan, "A description of some old towers in the Red Sea Province, north of Port Sudan", *SNR*, V (1922), 76-82; J. W. Crowfoot, "A note on the date of the towers", *SNR*, V (1922), 82-7; and Ugo Monneret de Villard, op. cit., *RSO*, XVII, 324-5.
261. Although Madigan believes that the building at Muḥammad Qōl was a watch tower (p. 79), Monneret de Villard (325), suggests that all these buildings are *qubbas*.
262. Crowfoot, op. cit., *GJ*, XXXVII, 549.
263. Crowfoot writes (op. cit., *SNR*, V, 84) "I noted 20 [buildings]

on a small hill called Jebel Sangadeieb some 12 miles North East of Maman, and several more sixty miles further North at Jebel Hamboleib: there are the remains of about 5 near the well of Adarmimish on the East bank of Khor Langeb and others between this and Thamiam at Khor Dageint, Khor Odardeb and Khor Sheieb".

264. Crowfoot, op. cit., *SNR*, v, 87.
265. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, XII, d. 473.
266. Sawkhāwī, *Tibr*, 309.
267. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, II, 261.
268. Ibid., IV, 80.
269. Leo Africanus, III, 837.
270. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, V, 273.
271. Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw al-lāmi' lī ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*; for relevant pages see below.
272. Ibid., VI, 149.
273. Ibid., IV, 234.
274. Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw*, IV, 219-20.
275. Ibid., X, 150.
276. Ibid., V, 240.
277. Ibid., IV, 140.

(4)

THE ARAB BREAKTHROUGH INTO AL-MUQURRA AND 'ALWA

1. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, III, 355.
2. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, 71.
3. Ibid., 75-6; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 283.
4. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, III, 326.
5. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, f. 227B-228A.
6. *Ibid.*, IV, f. 227B-228A.
7. Ahmad Darrag ("'Aydhāb", *NI*, I, pt. 9 (1958), 57) states, without naming his source, that the Fatimids had an Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* at 'Aydhāb.
8. Severus, II, pt. iii, 173-4, the text mentions gifts which are nothing but the *Baqt*.

9. Ibid., II, pt. iii, 173-4.
10. Severus, II, pt. iii. 204-5.
11. Ibn Muyassar, 24-5.
12. George was the son of his sister.
13. Severus, II, pt. iii, 211.
14. *Ibid.*, pt. iii, 205.
15. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 121-2.
16. Ibid., 32-3.
17. Ibn Khaldūn, VI, 28.
18. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IX, 40; Ibn Khaldūn, VI, 142.
19. Ibid., VI, 28.
20. Ibid., VI, 30.
21. Most of the supporters of the Umayyad rebel, Abū Rakwa, were men of the Banū Hilāl and had migrated to Barqa long before them; Ibn Khaldūn, VI, 38.
22. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 28.
23. Ibn Muyassar, 25; these tribes were probably living in Lower Egypt.
24. Ibid., 24-5.
25. Severus, IV, pt. iii, 204-5.
26. Ibn Khaldūn, IV, 134.
27. Severus, II, pt. iii, 204-5.
28. Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 129.
29. Nāṣir-ī Khusraw, 71.
30. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 258; this island was probably the island of Bilāq.
31. Abū Shāma, I, 208-9.
32. It appears that since 345/957 Ibrīm had fallen once more to the Nubians, see p. 91.
33. Abū Shāma, I, 209.
34. Abū Ṣāliḥ, 121-2.
35. Abū Shāma, I, 209.
36. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, XI, 254 and Abū Shāma, I, 221. Neither 'Imād al-dīn nor Ibn Abī Ṭayy' refer to this project directly. It might, however, be inferred from the account given by the latter. Although the truth is probably a mixture of Ibn al-Athīr's and the other two chroniclers' accounts, we should bear in mind the unfriendly attitude of Ibn al-Athīr to the Ayyubids.

37. Abū Shāma, I, 209.
38. Abū Shāma, I, 221; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, XI, 254.
39. Abū Shāma, I, 235.
40. Ibid., I, 235.
41. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 285.
42. In A.H. 573 (Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 66) there is mention of an expedition against the *Sūdān*: whether these blacks were the remnants of Fatimid forces still active south of Aswān is difficult to say.
43. Combe, III, V, VI, VIII, no. 1113, dated 317/929 found in Kalabsha; no. 1636 dated 357/797 found at Tāffa; no. 2142, dated 400/1010 at Ermenna; no. 2358 dated 418/1027 at al-Daw; nos. 2862, 3015, and 3040 dated 489/1096, 519/1125, and 525/1132 respectively were all discovered at Tāffa; and no. 3088 dated 532/1137 found at al-Daw.
44. Abū Ṣāliḥ, 127.
45. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 45.
46. Ibid., II, 46.
47. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, XI, 240-1.
48. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Cairo ed.), II, 236.
49. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 300.
50. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 46.
51. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 9.
52. The Ja'āfira comprised at that time the descendants of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. This man was, however, a descendant of the Banū Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, cf. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, I, 359.
53. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 386.
54. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 38.
55. Ibid., 9-10.
56. Baybars, f. 223A. Baybars al-Dawadār (d. 725/1324-5), a Mamluk who wrote a universal history in twenty-five volumes bringing the story down to his own time. The last part of his history is particularly useful as it contains some fresh information; cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, I, 67-8.
57. *Ibid.*, f. 223A; Ibn Khaldūn, V, 893, putst his incident wrongly in A.H. 701.
58. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 914.
59. Baybars, f. 231A; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 920.

60. A *fatwa* is a religious ruling given by a Muslim jurist on a disputed point.
61. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 921.
62. *Ibid.*, I, 921.
63. Baybars (f. 232A) states that they captured 15,000 horses, 20,000 camels, 10,000 sheep other than cattle; Maqrīzī (*Sulūk*, I, 922) says that they captured 80,000 sheep, 16,000 of which were brought to the treasury in Cairo; they also captured 4,000 horses, 32,000 camels, and 18,000 cattle and 200 camels laden with weapons.
64. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 922.
65. Usually Arabized as Azdamur.
66. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VI, f. 619B.
67. *Ibid.*, MS, VII, f. 10A-10B.
68. Ibn Khaldūn, V, 968; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VI' f. 10B.
69. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VII, f. 10A-11A.
70. Ibid., VII, f. 11B-12B.
71. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'* I, 220 (Būlāq ed.). The Zanj are the inhabitants of East Africa, but the word means here *Sūdān*.
72. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VII, 12B.
73. Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, f. 160B-61A.
74. Ibn Khaldūn, V, 968.
75. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, II, 142.
76. E.g. the Arabs of al-Fayyūm, al-Marāgha, cf. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VI, 619B.
77. Ibn al-Furāt, IX, 440-1.
78. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 58. However, he writes that the incident took place in 772/1180, i.e. two years before Barqūq ascended the throne; probably this policy was initiated by him, before he came to power.
79. This term refers to the second period of the Mamluk rule: 784-922/1382-1517.
80. 'Aynī, *Ta'rīkh*, 15B.
81. Ḥasan Ḥabashī writes (cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, I, 151): "The whole of Upper Egypt, except very few towns, consisted of fiefs belonging to the Sultans and Emirs, which meant that their inhabitants, or at least most of them, were little more than serfs".
82. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, III, 1145.

83. Mufaḍḍal, II, 211.
84. Ḥasan Aḥmad Maḥmūd, I, 291.
85. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Shāmī, 126.
86. Ibn al-Furāt, VIII, 45, gives a more detailed account than that of Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, 1219.
87. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, III, 1219.
88. There is a difference of opinion about this name: Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir (*Tashrîf*, 154) calls him Mashkadat; Mufaḍḍal (II, 234) calls him Shakanda and states that he was a cousin of King Dāwūd on his father's side; Ibn al-Furāt (VII, 45) names him as Shakanda or Mashkad and adds that he was a nephew of Murtashkar (his sister's son)—he would thus be King Dāwūd's cousin on his mother's side and would have a legitimate right to the throne like King Dāwūd himself.
89. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 45-6.
90. It appears that the Lord of the Mountain had three capitals, see p. 225, n. 27.
91. It refers probably to the island of Ṣāy or Sai.
92. Qamar al-Dawla's second name is definitely Nubian, but it is difficult to read, in this context, owing to the absence of points or diacritical marks. Ibn al-Furāt (VII, 50) mentions that Kashī was set, in the name of the Mamluk Sultan, over the castles of Ibrīm and al-Daw and that he retained his office as the Lord of the Mountain; cf. Mufaḍḍal, II, 235. It is deserving of note that the Nubians seem to have adopted Muslim titles long before they adopted Islam, e.g. Qamar al-Dawla and Abū 'l-'Izz. Even as early as 332/943 al Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, ii, 32) states that the King of al-Muqurra was Kubrā b. Sūrūr, which sounds Arabic.
93. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 46-7.
94. Mufaḍḍal, II, 234.
95. The literary Arabic meaning of this word is black clothes or cloaks. Monneret de Villard (*Storia*, 213-14) suggests that it means here breast-plate or chain-mail.
96. Mufaḍḍal, II, 235.
97. Ibid., II, 235.
98. The full text is found in Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MS, XXVIII, f. 259 and published in Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 973-4.

99. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MS, XXVIII, f. 259.
100. Ibid., XXXVIII, f. 259.
101. This is perhaps nothing more than a quarter or section of Dunqula itself.
102. Ibid., XXVIII, f. 259.
103. Ibid., XXVIII, f. 259.
104. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 50.
105. Mufaḍḍal, II, 237.
106. Ibn al-Furāt mentions (VII, 51) that the Sultan asked the vizir Bahā'l-Dīn b. Ḥanā to appoint officials to administer the *Kharāj* and *Jiẓya* of Dunqula and its provinces.
107. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, I, 290.
108. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 154.
109. This name is rendered in different forms, Ibn 'Abd Ẓal-āhir (*Tashrīf*, 154) renders it Shamāmūn; Nuwayrī (*Nihāyat*, MS, XXIX, f. 273) writes it Samāmūn.
110. Barak was perhaps deposed early in 678/1279.
111. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 143–4.
112. I.e. 685/1286.
113. Ibid., 144.
114. Ibid., 145.
115. Ibn al-Furāt, VIII, 52.
116. Ibid., VIII, 53.
117. Ibid., VIII, 53. Al-Qalqashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 290–1) gives the text of a treaty between the Mamluk Sultan and the King of Nubia which, he tells us, was made in the time of Sultan Qalā'ūn. It is perhaps to this treaty, dating from the reign of Qalā'ūn, that Ibn al-Furāt refers, though only in brief. Al-Qalqashandī's text is virtually an abridged version of the Mamluk-Nubian treaty negotiated in the reign of Sultan Baybars, with only two major differences: firstly the text in al-Qalqashandī had an additional clause to the effect that the King of Nubia agreed to ensure that all arms amongst the *Nūba* people were handed over to the Mamluk army and that none were left unconfiscated. Secondly, al-Qalqashandī's treaty does not (like the treaty dating from the reign of Baybars) contain a clause asking the King of Nubia to report to Cairo on all movements of the *'Urbān* in Nubia itself. This

omission suggests, perhaps, that the clause on the Baybars treaty had never been given full effect.

118. It is interesting to note that the Arabs had already married into the Nubian royal family.

119. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 53, 69. The army arrived in Cairo on 9 Rajab 687/9 July 1288.

120. Ibid., VIII, 68-9.

121. There were apparently a number of King Dāwūd's nephews in Cairo; cf. Ibn al-Furāt, VIII, 83.

122. *Ibid.*, VIII, 83.

123. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir (*Tashrīf*, 154-5) does not mention the year specifically but gives the precise day, the date, and the month—data which make it possible to determine the year. The information to be found in Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, though very scanty, does in general agree with the account given by Ibn al-Furāt.

124. Ibn al-Furāt, VIII, 83.

125. Ibid., VIII, 83.

126. *Ibid.*, VIII, 83.

127. Ibid., VIII, 83-4.

128. This island lies immediately south of Abū Ḥamad.

129. Ibn al-Furāt VIII, 91.

130. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 155.

131. Ibn al-Furāt, VIII, 91.

132. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 154-5; Ibn al-Furāt, VIII, 92.

133. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 155.

134. Singular, *Sawākirī*. There is a Shāqiyya clan which bears the same name; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 239.

135. It is not clear from the text whether this passage refers to the ordinary *Baqṭ* only or includes the Jizya as well.

136. Ibn al-Furāt, VIII, 92.

137. Ibid., VIII, 92.

138. Cf. Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Surūr, 239-40.

139. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Alṭāf*, 39-40.

140. The frequent appearance of this name, Jurays, in connection with the Lord of the Mountain, suggests that it is a family name rather than a title, as Monneret de Villard has proposed (*Storia*, 218). The use of Sayf al-Dawla is significant, and the

title *al-Muḥtaram*, i.e. one who deserves respect, confirms what has been suggested above (p. 108, n. 88). But it is not clear whether these titles were actually conferred on the individuals concerned or simply adopted by them. *Al-Muḥtaram* may be the Arabic equivalent of a Nubian title.

141. These are special stones, probably for sharpening metal knives.
142. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Alṭāf*, 40.
143. Ibn al-Furāt, VIII, 92.
144. It is written Ayy by Ibn Khaldūn, V, 922; Ayāy by Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 7; and Ammy by Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, V, 277, which is possibly the correct form (Quatremère, II, 114, quoting a certain MS of *Sulūk*, calls him Amaï).
145. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, I, 421.
146. Ibid., I, 421; the rebel forces ran away.
147. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 7.
148. Ibid., II, 107. Ibn Khaldūn, V, 922, is probably wrong in stating that King Ammy died in 716/1316; he died before his own brother Karanbas ascended the throne of Nubia in 711/1311.
149. *Ibid.*, II, 107.
150. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'* (Cairo ed.) I, 157; he dates this visit in 712/1312.
151. See below p. 125.
152. The name is written differently by other sources, e.g. Barshanbū or Sanbū by Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 161 and n. 4; and Nashly, by Ibn Khaldūn, V, 922.
153. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MS, XXX, f. 95-6.
154. The greeting is Moshāy Moshāy (ibid., XXX, f. 96), an expression which does not exist in the present Nubian dialects.
155. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MS, XXX, f. 96.
156. Ibid., XXX, f. 96.
157. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 161.
158. Ibn Khaldūn, V, 922; 'Aynī, *Ta'rīkh*, f. 6A.
159. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MS, XXX, f. 96.
160. 'Aynī, *Ta'rīkh*, f. 15A.
161. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 257.
162. 'Aynī, *Ta'rīkh*, f. 15A; what happened at this time is not clear.

163. On a piece of silk preserved at the Arab Museum, Cairo, is embroidered the wedding contract of al-Amīr Abī 'Abdallāh Kanz al-Dawla, King of Dunqula, from his cousin Bashariyya in Dhū'l-Qa'da 733/July–August 1333; cf. Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Hawārī, "'Iqd zawāj qadīm", *al-Hilal*, XL, pt. V (March, 1933), 628-32.
164. The Banū Ja'd were a clan of Lakhm of Kahlan, who used to live on the eastern bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt (Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 215, 411).
165. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VII, f. 48A.
166. Ibn al-Furāt, IX, 440-1.
167. Ibid., VII, f. 48A.
168. More about this tribe on p. 144.
169. Our two sources Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, f. 168A and Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VII, f. 48A state that their influence extended to Sawākin; it is probable that the Banū 'l-Kanz controlled not the port itself, which was under Mamluk domination, but the desert areas adjacent to it.
170. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VII, f. 48A-48B.
171. Ibid., VII, 48B.
172. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 187.
173. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VII, 43A.
174. Ibid., VII, f. 49A; Ibn Duqmāq (*Jawhar*, f. 168A) places this incident in A.H. 765, two years before *Sulūk*, and adds that the Kanz captives included twenty chiefs.
175. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, X, f. 260A; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, II, 469.
176. Ibn al-Furāt, IX, 440-1.
177. Crawford, *Ethiopian itineraries*, 180-1.
178. Ibn Khaldūn, V, 922-3.
179. Al-Nāṣir is perhaps no more than a title of the Nubian king.
180. I have seen this inscription in the above-mentioned mosque in Dunqula (now called Old Dunqula) in 1961. It is inscribed on white marble. See illustrations facing pp. 124 and 125.
181. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MSS, XXX, f. 9½8.
182. Budge, II, 306, Renaudot, 208-10.
183. Persecution though interrupted went on until 755/1354, cf. Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Surūr, 106-14; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 911.

184. Arkell, 194-5, suggests that most of the Christian remains found in the Northern Province "date from the years between 1250 and 1340". Most of these buildings are deteriorating rapidly.
185. Ludolph von Suchen, "Description of the Holy Land", *PPTS*, XII (1895), 103.
186. Felix Fabri, "The Book of the wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri", *PPTS*, VIII (1897), 373, 435.
187. Ibid., VII (1897), 209.
188. Ibn Khaldūn, V. 922-3.
189. The Juhayna was probably the principal tribe; there was, however, mention of other tribes too, see p. 112.
190. I.e. *al-A'ājim*, non-Arabic speaking people, here Nubians.
191. The Arabic *al-Siyāsa al-Mulūkiyya*.
192. The text reads *lā rasm li-l-Mulk*.
193. Ibn Khaldūn's remark that the Nubians adopted the nomadic way of life is probably an over-simplification of a complex situation. The Arabs indeed submerged Nubia in large numbers and became chiefs through intermarriage. Some Nubians might have migrated or might have adopted nomadic life because of a decrease in the margin of cultivation; but others have remained behind and held fast to their previous mode of life.
194. See pp. 46-7.
195. Mufaḍḍal, II, 237.
196. See p. 111.
197. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 143-4.
198. The editor writes it Nafal, but the text of the MS, Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir (*Tashrīf*, MS, 293B) is obscure particularly in respect of the first letter of the name.
199. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 144-5.
200. See p. 7.
201. Dimashqī, 268.
202. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, 155.
203. Arkell, 197.
204. See p. 132-3.
205. See p. 25-6.
206. See p. 49.

207. Father Francesco Alvares was the chaplain to the Portuguese Ambassador to the Abyssinian court between 1520–6. In his account he gives what is probably the only statement about the last phases of the Christian faith in 'Alwa.
208. A native of Tripoli, who accompanied Alvares for three years in Abyssinia and reported to him what he saw in the land of the "Nubis", i.e. 'Alwa.
209. Alvares, II, 461.
210. Abū Ṣāliḥ, 120.
211. The text refers to Rome, which was not reputed to have supplied the Sudan with priests; the writer might have meant to refer to Alexandria.
212. Alvares, II, 461.
213. It was perhaps founded about 880/1475, Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 3.
214. This hypothesis is discussed in two articles by P. M. Holt: "A Sudanese historical legend: The Funj conquest of Soba", *BSOAS*, XXIII, 1-12; and "Funj Origins: A critique and new evidence", *JAH*, IV, 39-55.
215. The family of 'Abdallāh.
216. This tradition occurs in the commentary of Makkī Shibayka, N. 1/5, p. 3. The manuscript itself could not be found at the Library of the University of Khartoum, where it had been kept.
217. Makki Shibayka, N. 1/5, p. 3 of the commentary.
218. Holt, op. cit., *BSOAS*, XXIII, 11.
219. An oriental Jew possibly from southern Arabia, an adventurer or shady character, who purports to have visited the court of King 'Umāra, the founder of Sinnār in 1523; see S. Hillelson, "David Renbenī: An early visitor to Sennar", *SNR*, XVI (1933), 55-6.
220. Ibid., XVI, 60.
221. This identification is based on Holt, op. cit., *BSOAS*, XXIII, 11, fn. 1.
222. Bruce, VI, 370-4, VII, 63, 69, 85, 87, 89-94, and A. J. Arkell, "Funj Origins", *SNR*, XV (1932), 201-50.
223. A. J. Arkell, "More about Fung Origins", *SNR*, XXVIII (1946), 87-97.
224. J. P. P. Chataway, "Notes on the history of the Fung", *SNR*, XIII (1930), 257; L. F. Nadler, "Fung Origins", *SNR*, XIV

(1931), 63-4. Crawford, *Fung*, 147-55, and al-Shāṭir Būṣaylī, *Ma'ālim*, 28-34, and *Ta'rīkh*, h,w. For further literature on this vexed question see Holt, op. cit., *BSOAS*, XXIII, 1, n. 1.

225. Bruce VI, 371. James Bruce, a Scottish traveller who passed through the decaying Funj Kingdom in 1772. He derived his information on the Funj from various informants including one Aḥmad Sīd al-Qawm, an officer at the Court.

226. The border with Abyssinia is not easy to determine at this early stage of the kingdom's history.

(5)

THE ARABIZATION OF THE PEOPLES OF THE SUDAN

1. See above, p. 70.
2. Hamdanī, *Ṣifat*, 133.
3. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, III, f. 57.
4. Qalqashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, I, 317), quoting Ibn Khaldūn, wrongly, adds the Bahrā; there is no mention of the Bahrā having inhabited this region in Ibn Khaldūn.
5. It is not clear from the text whether they crossed the sea directly to the Beja country or came by way of Egypt: the two routes are possible, the latter is historically documented while the former is still used by Arabs who come to Port Sudan on their boats.
6. The term Abyssinian is used here in a general sense probably to include the Beja.
7. Ibn Khaldūn, II, 516.
8. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 222.
9. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 333-7.
10. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 226.
11. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, 162.
12. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Muṣṭalaḥ*, 76-7.
13. Probably means Sultan al-Nāṣir Qalā'ūn, cf. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 68-9.
14. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Muṣṭalaḥ*, 77.
15. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, 161-2.

16. D. Newbold, "The Beja tribes of the Red Sea hinterland", in Hamilton (ed.), 153.
17. Except in the region adjacent to Upper Egypt, the traditional habitat of the 'Abābda, where there were extensive Arab contacts.
18. All this, incidentally, may explain the survival of Tu Bedawie language.
19. I have heard this in several versions, sometimes linked with Khālid b. al-Wālid! To connect them with Khālid is without foundation, as the descendants of Khālid had long ceased to exist (Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 42), though their relations, the Banū Makhzūm, lived near the Banū l-Zubayr in Upper Egypt.
20. For a detailed genealogy of the 'Abābda see Murray, 302-3.
21. Qalqashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, I, 356-7) quoting Ḥamadānī.
22. Burckhardt, 345. J. L. Burckhardt, the Swiss traveller, visited the Sudan in 1813–14.
23. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, 161.
24. All traditions agree that they were descended from 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Genealogy A2 (p. 471) MacMichael (*Arabs*, II, 104) states that they were the descendants of al-Zubayr through Kāhil b. 'Āmir b. Khālifa Ibayriq b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd.
25. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 359. Al-Ḥamadānī lived in the eighth/fourteenth century; see p. 201.
26. Ibid., 415.
27. In most of the oral traditions I collected the Amar'ar, particularly the Atman or 'Uthmān branch, claim a Ja'alī lineage. This is probably a very late development. The Kāhilī pedigree claims that their ancestor 'Amar of the Kawāhila married a Bejāwī woman. This pedigree leads ultimately not to al-Zubayr but to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra or his son Khālid (see G. E. R. Sanders, "The Amarar", *SNR*, XVIII (1935), 198–9). However, the name Amar'ar or 'Amā'ir was first mentioned by Ibn Ḥawqal in the fourth/tenth century and these were Beja; cf. p. 10 above. Seligman op. cit., *JRAS*, XLIII, 595) has shown that they have a lot of the original physical characteristics of the Hamitic stock.

28. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 324.
29. Information given by Shaykh Ja'far 'Alī to the writer which is also found in Sh. Jaafar Ali and J. A. de C. Hamilton, "A Note on the Halenga tribe", *SNR*, VIII (1925), 180-1; DC, 199/ MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 348.
30. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, MS, XXX, f. 98.
31. For a general account of these principalities see Ibrāhīm 'Alī Ṭarkhān, "Al-Islām wa'l-mamālik al-Islāmiyya bi'l-Ḥabasha", *MJTD*, MVIII (1959), 4-67.
32. No date was mentioned.
33. D6, 196/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 346. BA, 565/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 24 says that they were Juhayna.
34. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 319.
35. Ibid., I, 319.
36. Paul, 16.
37. It is significant to note that Ibn Ḥawqal mentions (p. 56) a clan of the Ḥadāriba whose name, the 'Arītayka, is similar to that of the Artayqa. If this identification is at all possible, the original Artayqa would be a branch of the Ḥadāriba.
38. This date is based on information supplied to me by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sharīf of Sinkāt, which is more likely than the other date 220/800 suggested by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ḍirār. According to a third version, the Artayqa came from Ḥaḍramawt in pre-Islamic times; see Cameron, op. cit., *JRAS*, XVI, 294.
39. For the meaning of Balū see p. 15. Tradition also adds a Sharīfī wife (note written by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sharīf).
40. Seligman (p. 19) writes "The -ab suffix is an indication of eastern origin". This is probably going too far; the suffix is no more than a result of cultural influence or a loan word comparable to the words which the Sudanese Arabs have borrowed from the Nubians and the Beja.
41. See above, p. 113.
42. I was told that the majority of the Kunūz claim descent from the Rabī'a; however, MacMichael (*Arabs*, II, 99-100) mentioned two sub-tribes who claim 'Abbāsī or Anṣārī ancestry.
43. AB, 543/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II; cf. tree opposite p. 80.
44. BA, 563-4/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 23.
45. The text is not vocalized; ABC, 499/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 97.

Arkell (p. 41) suggests that the name Maḥas is probably the same Nehsi which goes to 2750 B.C.

46. 'Ubāda b. Qays . . . b. Ka'b was killed at the battle of Mū'ta in 8/629; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 48.
47. ABC, 492/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 84. The writer suggests that their number was 81,000 at the time of the invasion of Dunqula in A.H. 43. The two statements are definitely wrong.
48. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 47.
49. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VII, f. 48B.
50. BA, 569/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 30 wrongly classifies them as Ja'aliyyīn.
51. A2, 473/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 105.
52. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, VIII, 5 calls them al-Hakāriyya which is a copyist's error for al-'Akārima, the other name for Banū 'Ikrima.
53. Ibid., VIII, 5; the author says that they lived at the "Gates of Nubia", a phrase which cannot be located exactly.
54. This hypothesis was first suggested by Muḥammad 'Awaḍ Muḥammad, 160-4.
55. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, f. 165A-65B.
56. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 200.
57. A11, 440/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 128.
58. D6, 199/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 348.
59. This is a simplified version of the Ja'alī genealogy (cf. BA, 567–9/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 28-31 and tree II opposite p. 61).
60. Compare with the Juhayna pedigree below, p. 155.
61. All names indicated by an asterisk are probably Ḥimyaritic or South Arabian.
62. Yāṭil, Hāṭil, and Kirab are probably not Arabic.
63. The eponymous ancestor of the Ja'aliyyīn.
64. In some versions of this genealogy, one of the pair Muḥammad al-Yamānī and Aḥmad al-Ḥijāzī is omitted.
65. Another variant is Buḍā'a.
66. Bracketed names refer to tribes discussed in this study.
67. AB, 524/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 67.
68. See MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 8, 49 note CXXXIII.
69. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 231. Furthermore David Reubeni speaks

of the Ja'al Kingdom at this time but without specifying any names; cf. Hillelson, op. cit., *SNR*, XVI, 61.

70. See p. 211.
71. These are strictly 14, see the tree above, but there is some doubt about one of them.
72. A derivation from the verb *ja'ala*, to make.
73. Ibn Manẓūr, XIV, 284.
74. Zabīdī, VIII, 243.
75. Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 34-5.
76. Ibid., 35.
77. There is no evidence that sections of Khalwān entered the Sudan, but they might have drifted in the company of others like Baliyy.
78. D6, 193/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 344-5.
79. AII, 441/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 128.
80. BA, 567-8/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 28.
81. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, MS, VII, f. 48A.
82. Holt, 6.
83. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 201.
84. BA, 568; AII, 441/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 29, 121.
85. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 119-21; AII, 441/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 121.
86. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 221-3.
87. Ibid., I, 220-30.
88. R. J. Elles, "The Kingdom of Tegali", *SNR*, XVIII (1935), 7-8.
89. P. M. Holt, "Dār Fūr", *EI*, 2, II, 123-5.
90. Nachtigal, III, 271; M. Delafosse, "Wadā'i", *EI*, I, IV, 1075.
91. This is the Sudanese pronunciation of the Arabic tribal name Rifā'a.
92. BA, 563/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 23.
93. This is a simplified charter of the Juhayna pedigree. For a detailed one see BA, 563-7/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 23-8; and the tree opposite p. 60.
94. Cf. Ja'alī pedigree.
95. The established Juhayna pedigree is different; see Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 221. This is indeed a mixture of famous Umayyad names, indicated by U, names from the Fazāra genealogy,

indicated by an asterisk, and other odd names including that of Juhayna, and 'Abdallāh, probably 'Abdallāh al-Juhanī.

96. The text reads Mafīḍ or Maghīḍ.
97. BA, 563/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 23.
98. This chain is not attested by any other source.
99. BA, 563/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 23.
100. This is a highly controversial point; see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 119-20. However, it may be concluded that 'Abdallāh was a descendant of a branch of the Quḍā', who became allies of the Juhayna, and thus was probably known by their name. The crux of the matter is that genealogists were keen to attach the Juhayna to a famous person rather than to a nonentity.
101. BA, 563/MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 301-6.
102. ABC, 497/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 88.
103. Ibid., 497/II, 89.
104. BA, 564/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 23.
105. A2, 471/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 104; C5 (a and b), 355-6/MacMichael II, 157-60.
106. ABC, 498/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 89, 97.
107. Ibn Khaldūn, VI, 5. *Yashkur* and its derivatives occur in the names of several tribes, but there is no evidence to connect them with the Shukriyya; cf. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 51, 140, 301-2; also Ibn Khaldūn, IV, 224.
108. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 333.
109. See p. 155.
110. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 244.
111. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 226.
112. A2, 473, A11, 443/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 105, 132.
113. BA, 564/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 28.
114. Holt, 8.
115. See above, pp. 103-5.
116. D1, 300/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 191.
117. Ibid., 300/II, 192, and C9, 324-7/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 175-7.
118. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 264.
119. Ibid.,
120. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 226.
121. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 444.
122. D1, 291/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 184. According to this

genealogy the Hilāliyya are, quite rightly, Banū Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a of Hawāzin.

123. Burckhardt, 323.
124. A11, 472/MacMichael, *Arabs*, 11, 132.
125. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 1, 350.
126. Ibn al-Shiḥna, f. 115B.
127. Qalqashandi, *Qalā'id*, f. 30A, 30B.
128. MacMichael, *Tribes*, 169.
129. A village near Wādī Ḥalfa is called Ḥalfa Dughaym, which I understand from Shaykh Muḥammad 'Uthmān 'Abdū refers to the Dughaym Arabs who settled there at first.
130. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 1, 109.
131. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, VIII, 6.
132. However, among the six sons of Manṣūr, the Kināna ancestor was a certain Suwār, who, 'Abd al-Majīd 'Abdīn has suggested, may be the father of Kamāl b. Suwār, who lived in the country between Abyssinia and Egypt and who corresponded with the Mamluk Sultan in 763/1361. Whether there is any connection between the two Suwārs it is difficult to decide; cf. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 162.
133. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 11, 163: Ibn Khaldūn, 11, 11, states that the Kināna were living south of Mecca and north of the Yemen.
134. J. A. Reid, "Some notes on the tribes of the White Nile province", *SNR*, XIII (1930), 205; also A11, 443/MacMichael, *Arabs*, 11, 132.
135. BA, 571, C9, 336/MacMichael, *Arabs*, 11, 32, 178.
136. Reid, op. cit., *SNR*, XIII, 205.
137. Two Bejāwī clans, the Melhitkinab and Sigolab, claim descent from the same Banū Abī Bakr, and they then migrated to the Gash area. This information is supplied by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ḍirār; compare with Paul, 75.
138. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1, 736; Qalqashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, 1, 354) states that they were living in al-Bahnasā and al-Ashmunyan.
139. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 122.
140. See *Tabaqāt*, e.g. p. 79.
141. See p. 140.
142. MacMichael, *Arabs*, 1, 326.
143. For a detailed account of the Kawāhla based on oral

information see MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 323-9; and Reid, op. cit., *SNR*, XIII, 149-57.

144. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, VIII, 116-18, and I, 306.

145. According to Ibn Faḍl Allāh (*Muṣṭalaḥ*, 28), Bornu lies south-east of the domains of the King of the Takrūr, south of Ifrīqiya, and north of the land of the Hamaj, literarily uncivilized (a region which cannot be located positively but might have meant the dark-skinned people who lived south of the central *Bilād al-Sūdān*).

146. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, VIII, 116-18.

147. Their origin is not clear.

148. The Judhām were apparently mixed with their cousins Lakhm b. Kahlān, who migrated to Egypt at the same time, settling partly in Upper Egypt; Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 59.

149. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 206-7; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, III, f. 64-5.

150. Qalqashandī, *Qalā'id*, 12B-13A.

151. ABC, 498, MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, tree IV, opposite p. 100.

152. This is clearly reflected in one of the *nisbas* (D1, 303/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 194) which states that the Kabāḍish are a synthetic tribe including some Shāyqiyya, Juhayna, Ḥimyar, and Quraysh.

153. BA 566, D1, 299/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 26, 199.

154. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 308-9.

155. Ibn Khaldūn, VI, 11.

156. Maqrizī, *Bayān*, 19.

157. Ibn Khaldūn, II, 535. The suggestion that some of these Arabs came straight across the desert from Ifrīqiya is difficult to prove.

158. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 364-5.

159. Ibn Khaldūn, VI, 31, 34, 35.

160. Ibid., VI, 51-2.

161. Qalqashandī, *Nihayāt*, 147.

162. D1, 147/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 192.

163. Seligman, 109.

164. Or Shaqūq.

165. BA, 566/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 26-7.

166. Maqrizī, *Bayān*, 48-9.

167. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 344.
168. Ibn Khaldūn, II, 632-4.
169. Ibn Muyassar, 25.
170. As quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, II, 634.
171. Ibid., II, 632, 634.
172. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, I, 345.
173. Ibn Khaldūn states (II, 632-3) that there was a Banū 'Abs among the Banū Hilāl but it is not clear whether these were related to the Fazāra.
174. D1, 304/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 195.
175. A2, 472/D6, 194/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 105, 345.
176. D1, 291/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 185.
177. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 188.
178. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, 167B.
179. D2, 216; ABC, 502/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 216, 92; also ibid, I, 302-6.
180. P. M. Holt, "Bakḳāra", *EI*, 2, I, 962.
181. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, I, 333-4; *Qalā'id*, 13A.
182. See above pp. 105, 163-4.
183. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith*, 539-40, 553-4.
184. Ibid., 695-6.
185. The exact relation of Awlād Ḥimayd with the rest of the Baqqāra differs from one pedigree to another; see Mac-Michael, *Arabs*, I, 302-6.
186. D1, 291/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 184-5; however the authors of D2 (p. 219) and ABC (p. 502/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 216, 92) classify them as Juhayna like all the Baqqāra.
187. D1, 303/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 194, he also includes other sub-sections.
188. Ibn Khaldūn, II, 529-30; Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 3-5.
189. Ibn Muyassar, 24.
190. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 195, 196.
191. Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 8-10.
192. The Ḥawāzima, according to D1, 303/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 194, were nomads from the Hijaz and were mixed with the Bidayriyya, Takrūr, and a mixture of other tribes. Mac-Michael tried to connect them with the Banū Ḥarb, a branch of Hawāzin, of the Hijaz (MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 280-1); in

fn. no. 3 he quotes the statement of al-Maqrīzī that Awlād Ḥazm were a section of Sunbus of Ṭayy'. In fact the correct reading is not Ḥazm but Jarm; see Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 4-5.

193. D1, 293/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 186.
194. Ibid., I, 274-6.
195. Reid, op. cit., *SNR*, XIII, 152.
196. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 276.
197. MacMichael, *Tribes*, 56-8, 231-4.
198. Ibn al-Furāt, VII, 52.
199. The whole subject deserves further study.
200. See p. 85.
201. D1, 302/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 193.
202. BA, 573/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 32-3.
203. The career of al-Sharīf Aḥmad Muqbil, whose marriage into the 'Arakiyyīn gave rise to a group of pious men, was perhaps that of a religious teacher, too; see D1, 300/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 191.
204. D6, 193/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 344; the same source renders the name once as Bā-Fād, which is a copyist's error.
205. Crowfoot, op. cit., *ASE*, XIX, 13.
206. D6, 193/MacMichael, II, 344.
207. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, 47B.
208. Combe, VIII, 209, no. 3088.
209. BA, 564/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 23.
210. E.g. ibid, 571/II, 32.
211. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 123-4.
212. Ibn Khaldūn, VI, 10.
213. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 139.
214. BA, 574/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 36.
215. Ibid., II, 36.
216. D2, 213/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 213. A significant form of the local traditions incorporates the legend of the "Wise Stranger", cf. Holt, op. cit. *JAH*, IV, 50-1, 54.
217. See above, pp. 29-30.
218. D6, 196/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 346.
219. BA, 571/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 32.
220. D1, 304/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 194.
221. Hillelson, op. cit., *SNR*, XVI, 58.

222. There is a minority of traditions linking the Funj with the Banū Hilāl; see Holt, op. cit., *JAH*, IV, 50, 54, B1, 436-7/ MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, tree opposite p. 145.
223. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, "The Umayyad genealogy of the Funj", *SNR*, XLVI (1965), 32.
224. Makkī Shibayka, 2.
225. Ibid., 2.
226. Bruce, VI, 369-70.
227. Burckhardt, 296.
228. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 345.

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1. BA, 573/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 35.
2. Alvares, II, 461.
3. Trimingham, *Sudan*, 196, 223. The author does not name his source and it seems he had access to native sources which I have been unable to discover.
4. ABC, 491/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 82.
5. Trimingham, *Sudan*, 223.
6. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 248.
7. ABC, 491/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 82.
8. Ibid., 491/II, 86. A fourth daughter was apparently married to the grandfather of the Suwārāb, see D1, 304/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 195.
9. Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 3-4, for the translation see S. Hillelson, "Aspects of Muhammadanism in the Eastern Sudan", *JRAS* (1937), 661.
10. Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 3-4, 155, and 'Abd al-'Azīz A. 'Abd al-Majīd, I, 58, n. 1 and 2.
11. Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 155.
12. These are Ismā'īl, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abd al-Raḥīm, and Ibrāhīm, cf. Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 5-6, 104.
13. Ibid., 5.
14. Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 5, also 'Abd al-'Azīz A. 'Abd al-Majīd, 63, fn. 3.

15. Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 5; Trimingham, *Sudan*, 119.
16. Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 42-3.
17. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqadima* (*Prolégomènes d'Ebn Khaldoun*), texte Arabe, par M. Quatremère, Paris, 1858, II, 266; for the English translation see Charles Issawi, *An Arab philosophy of history*, London, 1958.

APPENDIX

1. G. Roeder, "Die Christliche Zeit Nubiens und des Sudans", *ZK*, XXXIII (1912), 364-5; L. P. Kirwan, op. cit., *JEA*, XXI, 57.
2. J. W. Crowfoot, "Christian Nubia", *JEA*, XIII (1927), 141.
3. Ibid., *JEA*, XIII, 141.
4. F. Ll. Grifith, "Documents from Nubia" (an offprint from), *PBA*, XIV (1928), 2.
5. See Bibliography for details.
6. Full bibliographical notes were given as relevant.
7. He died in *c.* 256/870.
8. Ibn Khurdādhbih, 17, 92, 93, 176, 230, 265.
9. Most of the writers discussed below lived in Egypt except where otherwise stated.
10. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, introduction, 1-2; Kindī, introduction, 22.
11. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 169-70, 188-9.
12. In an article entitled "A revaluation of Muslim traditions" (*JRAS*, 1949, 143-54), J. Schacht shows that in the field of Muslim law and history, traditions going back to the first and second centuries of Islam though attested by a proper chain of authorities or *isnād* were, in fact, comparatively recent formalizations of existing practices or the accepted collective memory of the Muslim community on a particular incident. Quite independently of Schacht, and basing his opinion on Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's account of the Arab conquest of North Africa, R. Brunschvig confirms the same conclusion. He doubted the authenticity of this detailed account and concluded that only the bare outline of events was historically reliable (cf. R. Brunschvig, "Ibn 'Abdalḥakam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes", *AIEO*, VI (1942–7), pp. 108-55, esp. 152-5).

13. Kindī, Introduction, 34-5.
14. Ibid., 31-2.
15. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 188; Kindī, Introduction, 34.
16. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 189.
17. Kindī, Introduction, 29-30.
18. Ibid., 34.
19. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 238-9.
20. Ibid., 237.
21. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 235-8.
22. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, VIII, f. 500-4.
23. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, IV, 470-74.
24. "It is not correct to say that he always gives the original texts, which later writers embellished and expanded; it may be with much more truth presumed, from the agreement of the essential portions of his works with later more detailed works, that al-Balādhurī abridged the material at his disposal in a number of cases, although he often remained faithful to his sources." C. H. Becker-(F. Rosenthal), "al-Balādhurī", *EI*, 2, I, 971-2.
25. C. Brockelmann, "al-Ya'qūbī", *EI*, 1, IV, 1153.
26. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 233-6.
27. Le Strange, 4.
28. Ibn al Faqīh, 76-8.
29. A. A. Durī, "The Iraq School of history to the ninth century", in Lewis and Holt (eds.), *Historians*, 53.
30. Ṭabarī, I, 2480.
31. Ibid., I, 2587-8.
32. Ibid., III, 1428-33.
33. Kindī, 214.
34. Ibn al-Dāya, 27-8.
35. Balawī, 63-7, 230-1.
36. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, 1648. One suspects that al-Maqrīzī copied this account from Ibn Sulaym (cf. *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 257, 285), where he refers to it in brief.
37. F. V. Zambaur, "al-Iṣṭakhrī", *EI*, 1, II, 560.
38. Iṣṭakhrī, 40-1.
39. C. van Arendonk, "Ibn Ḥawkal", *EI*, 1, II, 383-4.
40. Ibn Ḥawqal, 57-8.
41. Ibid., 57.

42. Ibn Ḥawqal, 51.
43. C. Brockelmann, "al-Mas'ūdī", *EI*, I, III, 403.
44. Compare Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 329, 382 with Ibn al-Faqīh, 77-8, particularly about the Jacobite religion and Takuna.
45. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 382.
46. Ibid., III, 42-9.
47. Ibid., III, 52.
48. Brockelmann, *GAL*-S., I., 410.
49. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, IV, f. 227-8.
50. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III. 252-78.
51. Ibn Iyās, *'Ajā'ib*, f. 72A-73A, 74B, 76A-79B.
52. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 278.
53. Compare Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 189, with Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 272.
54. Ibid., III, 278.
55. Compare Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 233-6 with Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 272.
56. Compare Ṭabarī, III, 1428-33 with *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 275-6.
57. Ibid., III, 275-6.
58. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 255-6.
59. Ibid., III, 265-6.
60. Ibn Buṭlān, 342, 345, 347.
61. Lane-Poole, 119.
62. Severus, II, pt. iii, 249.
63. Ibid., I, pt. i, 1. Abū Ṣāliḥ, introduction, XVI.
64. See p. 196-7.
65. al-Bakrī, *al-Mughrib fī dhikr Ifrīqiya wa'l-Maghrib* (ed. de Slane) Paris, 1911.
66. Bakrī, MS., f. 10A, 10B, 11A.
67. Translated into Arabic by Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb.
68. Nāṣir-ī Khusraw, 73-4.
69. C. F. Seybold, "al-Idrīsī", *EI*, I, II, 451.
70. Gibb, 135.
71. Idrīsī, *Ṣifat*, 21-2, 27; *Nuzhat*, MS, f. 112-15.
72. Ibn Jubayr, 65-74.
73. Compare with *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 300-2.
74. E.g. the article "Bāḍi'", I, 471 contains some fresh information.
75. Mez, 267.

76. Abū Ṣāliḥ, Introduction, x, xii.
77. Ibid., x, xii, xiv.
78. Ibid., xvii.
79. See M. Hilmy M. Aḥmad, "Some notes on Arabic historiography during the Zengid and Ayyubid periods", in Lewis and Holt (eds.), *Historians*, 90.
80. Ibid., 86, 90-4.
81. J. H. Kramers, "Geography and Commerce" in Arnold & Guillaume (ed.), *Legacy*, 91.
82. G. Wiet, "Comptes Rendus", *JA*, xviii, Series xi (1921), 65-125.
83. I have used the full text edited and translated by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khuwayṭir, Ph.D. thesis London 1960; a more fragmentary text was edited, from a single ms., by F. Sadeque, *Baybars the first of Egypt* (Decca—Oxford, 1956).
84. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrif*, Introduction, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, and *Rawḍ*, 12, 15; also, J. Pedersen, "Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir", *EI*, i, ii, 354.
85. Ign. Kratschkowsky, "al-Nuwairī", *EI*, i, iii, 968.
86. Nuwayrī, ms, xxx, f. 97.
87. Dimashqī, 60, 88-9, 268.
88. C. L. Hurat, "Ibn Faḍl Allāh", *EI*, i, ii, 37.
89. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ms, iii, f. 56-70. The author relied on al-Ḥamadānī's account, see below, p. 201.
90. Mufaḍḍal, Introduction, i, 8 (or 350).
91. Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 672/1272).
92. Mufaḍḍal, i, 21 (or 363).
93. Compare Mufaḍḍal, ii, 234-40 with Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 45-51. They were perhaps quoting Nuwayri, *Nihāyat*, ms, xxvi ii, f. 259-60.
94. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 111.
95. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Introduction (Beirut ed.), 6.
96. For an exaggerated point of view see J. E. F. Bloss, "The Story of Suakin", *SNR*, xix (1936), 282.
97. Ibn Khaldūn, v, 922-3.
98. C. van Arendonk, "Ibn Dukmāk", *EI*, i, ii, 374.
99. Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 50.
100. Still in ms form at the Bodleian in Oxford, Digby, or 28.

101. Alfred Bel, "Ibn al-Furāt", *EI*, I, II, 378 and Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 50.
102. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, Introduction, pp. n, s.
103. Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 211.
104. C. Brockelmann, "al-Maqrīzī", *EI*, I, III, 175.
105. For an appreciation of the books that al-Maqrīzī quoted in the *Khiṭaṭ* see, A. R. Guest, "Books and other authorities mentioned by al-Maqrīzī in his Khiṭaṭ", *JRAS* (1902), 103-25.
106. Maqrīzī was perhaps quoting Ibn Sulaym, compare *Muqaffā*, IV, f. 164B with *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 257, 285.
107. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, I, 49-50.
108. A. Marçais, "al-'Aynī", *EI*, 2, I, 814.
109. W. Popper, "Abū'l-Maḥāsin . . . Ibn Taghrī Birdī", *EI*, 2, I, 142.
110. Sakhāwī, *Dhayl*, vol. I; unnumbered MS, events of the year A.H. 850.
111. A common Sudanese usage.
112. Blessing or spiritual goodness believed to come out of a holy man in his writing or action.
113. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 16.
114. BA, 459-575/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 17-38.
115. An abridged, although confused manuscript, probably taken from the original of the two manuscripts mentioned above is found among the Wingate Collection in the University of Durham. This manuscript was found among documents formerly in the possession of the Mahdist general al-Nūr 'Anqara and was acquired by Lieut.-Col. E. B. Wilkinson (see Hill, 378) in (?) 1898. A microfilm of this manuscript was kindly shown to me by Professor Holt.
116. BA, 575/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 37, and Um Ḍubbān, BA, 607.
117. The text reads Muḥammad 'Awn which is a mistake, see Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 5.
118. This date was computed by MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 10.
119. Ibid., II, 58, para CCXIII.
120. The date was wrongly put as A.H. 1230, cf. BA, 575/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 37.
121. Ibn Khaldūn, II, 4-8.
122. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 4-5.

123. Hājjī Khalīfa, v, 447 and, Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 109, 155.
124. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 6.
125. A *Sūfī* order founded by Ismā'īl al-Walī (1793-1863). It has nothing to do with the Shī'ī sect of that name, cf. Trimingham, *Sudan*, 235-6.
126. AB, 510, 511/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 62-3.
127. AB, 512/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 63.
128. Ibid., 551/II, 61. This is the date of acquisition.
129. Ibid., 513/II, 63-4.
130. Sudanese usage meaning *faqīh*, jurist or teacher of the *Qur'ān*.
131. ABC, 490-504/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 81-93.
132. A2, 468, 473/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 103, 106.
133. Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 118-20.
134. A2, 473-4/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 106-7.
135. A11, 444/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 127.
136. Ibid., 440/II, 127-8.
137. Ibid., 440/II, 127-8.
138. *walad* or, for short, *wad*, means son.
139. C5 (a), 358, C5 (b), 355-6/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 157-60.
140. A2, 471/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 104.
141. See p. 158.
142. Wad Dayf Allāh, 104-5.
143. D1, 311/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 181, 201.
144. Ibid., 311/II, 181, 201.
145. A village south of Dunqula.
146. D1, 311/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 201; Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 157.
147. D1, 311/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 181, 201.
148. D1, 221/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II. 213.
149. Ibid., 213-220/II, 213-16.
150. D6, 192, 203/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 343-51.
151. See above, pp. 179-80.
152. Na'ūm Shuqayr, II, 73-4.
153. Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 118, 157.
154. For an abridged translation see MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 358-405.
155. Ibid., II, 354-5.
156. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya Maktabat Fāḍil Pasha, *Ta'rīkh* no.

19, published by al-Shaṭir Buṣaylī 'Abd al-Jalīl, *Ta'rīkh* (see Bibliography).

157. Nationalbibliothek, MS, Mixt 677a.
158. Bibliothèque Nationale, MS, Arabe, 5069.
159. British Museum, MS, OR 2345.
160. Makkī Shibayka, Introduction 3.
161. Al-Shāṭir Būṣaylī, *Ta'rīkh*, h, 32, 113-14.
162. P. M. Holt, "Fumj origins: a critique and new evidence", *JAH*, IV (1963), 40-55.
163. Wad Ḍayf Allāh, 75.
164. ABC, 493/MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 85.
165. Ibid., II, 217-323.
166. S. Hillelson, "Ṭabaqāt wad Ḍayf Allāh: studies in the lives of scholars and saints", *SNR*, VI (1923), 191-230.
167. *Kitāb ṭabaqāt wad Ḍayf Allāh fī awliyā'wa ṣāliḥīn wa 'ulamā wa shu'arā'*, ed. by Sulaymān Dāwūd Mandīl, Cairo, 1439/1930, and *kitāb al-ṭabaqāt fī khuṣūṣ al-awliyā' wa l-ṣaliḥīn wa 'ulamā'wa l-shu'arā' fī l-Sudan*, ed. by Ibrāhīm Ṣidayq, Cairo, 1348/1930. A complete critical edition of this important book is being prepared by the author.

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